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EDITED BY
SHAMS-UL ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., C.I.E., B.A., PH.D., LL.D.

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

By a resolution dated the 17th January, 1922, the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute entrusted to Mr. L. Bogdanov, the work of translating Professor Bartholomae's "Zum sasanidischen Recht", Parts I, II and III. On receiving the translation of these three parts, Part I was handed over to the Press for publication.

By another resolution dated the 12th July, 1923, Mr. Bogdanov was requested to translate "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch" by the same savant. It was not thought fit to delay the publication of the translation of "Zum sasanidischen Recht", Part I, until the translation of the other work, "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch", published in this number, was received. It need not be mentioned that the "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch" was published by Professor Bartholomae as an introductory work, before the "Zum sasanidischen Recht", Part I, was compiled.

PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The essay submitted here is a translation of the Introductory Part in **Prof. Ch. Bartholomae's** series of treatises on Sasanian Law, as has already been pointed out by us in the "Preface by the Translator" to Part I of the said series. Little can be added to what has been said in that Preface except a few words on the manner in which we have proceeded with regard to the translation, and on the few slight deviations from the German original we thought necessary of introducing.

In the first instance, the text of the Pahlavi passages discussed, their transcription in Roman characters and their translation are disposed in the German original on a very intricate plan, ultimately abandoned by the author himself in his later essays. In fact, the arrangement in the original in two vertical columns, the right one containing the translation and the left one allotted to the text with an interlinear transcription in Roman characters running backwards, offered many drawbacks, both as regards its composition by the printers and from the point of reading. We have not, therefore, hesitated in changing that plan into a more usual form, *viz.* with the text, the transcription and the translation simply following each other.

Our English translation of Salemann's Middle-Per-
sian Grammar having lately appeared in the publications of the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay, we have everywhere substituted in quotations the pages of the English translation, as more readily accessible in India, in place of those of the German original, as quoted by **Bartholomae**.

Since the German original of the present essay does not contain any Indices, beyond a brief list of passages translated and discussed, we have not attempted "improving on the original" by adding any elaborate Indices to our translation. In that again, we have followed our principle of keeping as near as possible to the original.

Very slight alterations have been introduced in the transcription of Pahlavi words and that only in two or three cases, where there seemed to be good reasons for doing so. One or two examples will show what those reasons were. The word 𐭥𐭥𐭥, for instance, is transcribed by the author in the present essay as *vyāk*, in his later essays as *gyāk*, and finally, in the latest Parts of the series, as *yyāk*. Neither the first, nor the third of these transcriptions being warranted either graphically or traditionally, we have selected the second of the author's three different readings, although even that cannot be considered altogether as perfect. We have, on the other hand, preserved the transcription *pātəxšāh* used by the author in the present essay for 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 or 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 which he transcribes in the later issues of the series, less accurately it would seem, as *pātaršāy*.

To make this essay self-sufficient, a List of Abbreviations has been added, based, with a few additions, on the List appended by us to Part I of the present series.

L. BOGDANOV.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- AGr.** : Armenische Grammatik (HÜBSCHMANN).
AI. : Ancient Indian.
AirWb. : Altiranisches Wörterbuch (BTHL.).
Aog. : Aogemadaecha (ed. GEIGER).
AVN. : The Book of Arda Virāf.
Aw. : Avestan.
Bd. : Bundahišn (ed. WESTERGAARD, JUSTI. The references are to pages and lines).
BGB. : Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (the German Civil Code).
Bthl. : BARTHOLOMAE.
BullAcPét. : Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg.
DM. : Dēnkart ed. MADAN (the references are to pages and lines).
DKS. : Dēnkart ed. SANJANA (the references are to pages and lines).
DWb. : Deutsches Wörterbuch.
Einl. : Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen (SPIEGEL).
ErP. : Frahang-i Pahlavik ed. JUNKER (the references are to chapters and lines).
GAb. : Mātikān-i Gajastak Abālīš.
GAw. : Avestan of the Gathas.
GIrPh. : Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.
GrBd. : Great Bundahišn ed. ANKLESARIA (the references are to pages and lines).
Grdr. : Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen (BRUGMANN).

GrSogd.: *Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne* (GAUTHIOT).

IF.: *Indogermanische Forschungen* (ed. BRUGMANN and STREITBERG).

KN.: *Kārnāmak-i Artaxšēr-i Pāvakān*.

M.: *Handschriftentexte aus Turfan* (F. W. K. MÜLLER),
and *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch* (I D E M).

ManStud.: *Manichäische Studien* (SALEMANN).

MK.: *Codex MK. of DASTUR JAMASP-ASANA*.

MéAs.: *Mélanges Asiatiques*.

MhD.: *Mādīgān-i-Hazār Dādistān* ed. MODI (the references are to pages and lines).

MhDA.: *The Social Code of the Parsis in Sasanian times*
ed. E. T. D. ANKLESARIA.

MIRANM.: *Zur Kenntniss der mittelpersischen Mundarten*
(BTHL.), SHAW.

MPB.: *Middle-Persian of the books*.

MPGr.: SALEMANN, *Middle-Persian Grammar*, Parsee Panchayet Publications, Bombay, 1930.

MPT.: *Pahlavi texts of Turfan*.

MS.: *Middle-Soghdian* (where no additional definition is given—"Middle-Soghdian Buddhist Texts").

MX.: *Minōk-i Khrad*, editions: ANDREAS, SANJANA, WEST
(the references are to §§ and lines).

NpEt.: *Neupersische Etymologie* (HORN).

PahlT.: *Pahlavi Texts* (JAMASP ASANA).

PersStud.: *Persische Studien* (HÜBSCHMANN).

PF.: *Pahlavi-Awesta Frahang* (ed. REICHELT, WZKM.,
14. 182 ff.)

PN.: *Pahlavi Nīrangistān*.

- PN (Tahm.): Pahlavi Nirangistān (the T. D. ANKLESARIA
Codex).
- Pā. : Pahlavi translations (of Avestan texts).
- PV. : Pahlavi Vidēvdād (Vendidād).
- PVr. : Pahlavi Visperad.
- PW. : ROTH and BÖHTLINGK'S Dictionary.
- PY. : Pahlavi Yasn.
- PYt. : Pahlavi Yašt.
- SBayrAW.: Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften.
- SBE. : Sacred Books of the East.
- SHAW. : Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie
der Wissenschaften.
- Skr. : Sanskrit.
- Sp. : SPIEGEL'S ed. of the Visperad.
- SRb. : Über ein Sasanidisches Rechtsbuch (BTHL.), SHAW.
- SW. : Sanskrit Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK).
- SWAW. : Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der
Wissenschaften.
- SyrRechtsb.: Syrisches Rechtsbuch (SACHAU).
- ŠnŠ. : Šāyast-nē-Šāyast.
- Šv. : Škand-gumānik Vižār.
- WZKM. : Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgen-
landes.
- ZDMG. : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft.
- ZendHss.: Catalogus Codicum Mss. Bibliothecae Regiae
Monacensis, v. I, pars VII (BTHL.).

NOTES ON A SASANIAN LAW-BOOK.

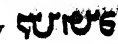

FROM THE GERMAN OF

PROF. CH. BARTHOLOMAE (HEIDELBERG)

translated by

L. BOGDANOV.

—:O:—

In 1896 a communication was made by E. W. West in GIPH. II, 116-117, that a **fragment of Sasanian juridical literature** has been preserved in a manuscript to which he gave the name of "the Social Code of the Parsis in Sasanian Times". Five years later there appeared in Bombay a photozincographed reproduction of the greater part of that work under the title: *Mādigān-i-Hazār-Dādistan*. A photozincographed facsimile of a MS. belonging to the Manockji Limji Hoshang Hātariā Library in the Zarthoshti Anjuman Ātashbehārām, with an Introduction by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,Bombay 1901, being Vol. II of the Pahlavi Text Series, which are published from the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund. The edition comprises 55 folios of a manuscript which must have been originally nearly twice that size. Nineteen further folios of the same manuscript, which belong to a private person, are yet awaiting publication. The rest seems to have perished. More detailed information about the sequence of folios and the losses from the middle of the manuscript is given in the introduction to the edition. The first folio of the manuscript, which is reproduced on p. 79f. of the edition, contains the title of the work, namely  *mātikān* [i] 1000 (=hazār) *dātastān* "the Book of 1000 (legal) decisions", as well as the name of its author:  *Farroḡmār i Vahrāmān*.

applied to our text by **West** and considered by **Modi** in his Introduction as "a very appropriate name", is by no means a fully suitable one. One ought not to forget that **West** had hardly seen even one third of the manuscript. A comprehensive estimation of the work must remain in abeyance for a later time.

The translation of, and the commentary on a small selection of passages from the MhD. which follow here have, along with **philological** aims, also more especially in view the object of bringing to light the MhD. as a noteworthy source for **comparative jurisprudence**. The justifiable desire to see a complete translation of the MhD. remains unattainable, at least until a second manuscript of the text is found, which would help to correct the numerous errors and to fill in the gaps of the manuscript under discussion; everybody can see it for himself at a glance at the Edition. I hope, however, that my present attempt to translate, a few passages, which, should the circumstances prove favourable, shall be followed by further endeavours in that direction, will serve as an incentive for other Pahlavi scholars to take up in their turn the study of that important collection of Sasanian juridical opinions.

The twofold object of the present essay made me think of the necessity of establishing some external difference by means of shortening the line and using the sign ". A complete separation is, of course, impossible.

In the estimation of the texts that follow I wish the reader to have in view the following details :—

1. **Superfluous words** and interpunctuations in the text are enclosed into round brackets (),
2. **Supplemented words** in the text and also in the translation are enclosed into square brackets [];
3. **Slightly altered words** are marked by + +

MPB, MPS, MPT mean correspondingly: Middle-Persian (Pahlavi) of the books; on signets; in the Turfan-texts.

For the abbreviations of the Middle-Persian book-titles v. IF. 23. 334 ff. I add besides also:

Šv. = Škand Vimānik Vičār ; quoted from: Shikand-
Gāmānik Vijār.....edited by.....E. W. West. Bombay,
1887. Numbers of chapters and paragraphs.

GrBd. = Great Bundahišn; quoted from: The Būndahishn. Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2edited by **T. D. Anklesaria**. Bombay, 1908. Numbers of pages and lines.

ŠnŠ. = Šāyest nē šāyest; cf. **West** SBE. 5. 237 ff. The text still remains unedited*; I have been using for it the manuscript Cod. Mon. Zend. 51a.

For the unpublished part of the **Dātestān i dēnik** (Dd.) I had at my disposal the Cod. Havn. Zend 35.

1. 3. 10 f

[illegible]

ka ō žan gōwēt 'kum pa x^rēs tan sardār i pātəxšāh
kart hē nē hišt bēš pātəxšāh i pa šōd ē čakar kartan dāt
dāwēt.

* The text (unfortunately in transcription only) of the ~~xx~~ together with a translation and a running commentary has been since edited, whilst the present translation was in press, by J. C. Gavadia, Hamburg, 1930. — *The Translator.*

If he [the husband] says to the wife: "Thou art [hereby] made by me an empowered mistress of thy person", then she is not dismissed [from matrimony], but the authorization to enter into *čakar*-matrimony with a[nother] husband is given her.

The passage forms the first sentence (*dātastān*) of the "Chapter on the dismissal from matrimony" (د ت د)

د ت د د ت د ت د ت د ت د ت د ت *dar i hiştan i hač žanīh*) which occupies the space from 3.9 to 5.3. Further sentences from the same Chapter v. sub. 2, 3, 4.

It is not stated more detailedly, what special legal consequences there result from a matrimony (*žanīh*) being considered not as dissolved, but as subsisting, although the husband (*šōd*) has granted the wife (*žan*) the right of free disposal over her own person, so that she is empowered to contract a *čakar*-matrimony with another husband; yet, v. in 2.

The present-day Parsis understand under a *čakar*-matrimony the matrimony connected with the remarriage of a widow; cf. Kleuker, ZA. 3.230, Justi Bd. 119, NB. 334, Spiegel EA. III, 678, Houtum-Schindler ZDMG. 36.87, West, SBE. 5.143, 18.185. That does not cover what was understood by it, according to the context in the passage of the MhD., in Sasanian times. Nor is there any passage from Middle-Irānian texts containing the word *čakar* known to me which would connect the *čakar*-matrimony necessarily with a widow.¹ It could, of course, be maintained that the authorization conferred by the husband, which is dealt with in MhD.

¹ " It is, besides, authenticated by me in the following passages:

MhD. 32.3, 15, 17, 48.3, 5. N. 7.27, 28, 13, 14, 15; Šn. 10.21, 12. 14; Dd. 56.7 (Cod. Havn. Zend. 35, fol. 1v^o v. l. 4); Bd. 80.1, 4 (=32.6, 7, Gr.Bd. 235.15, 236.2); Dk. 492.5.

8. 10, has to be thought of as a testamentary disposition and that the sentence about the matrimony not being considered as dissolved under the given circumstances has not a juridical, but a religious meaning; that it ought to be brought into connection with the teaching of the *rivā-yāt*¹ according to which a *čakar*-wife "in any case, belongs to the first husband in the other world" (West, SBE. 5.143). The other sentences of our section, however, and the whole book in general concern themselves clearly and exclusively with the actual relations of this world, so that such an interpretation is inadmissible even for that reason. I do not, however, hold it for excluded that the present day conception of the idea of the *čakar*-marriage goes back to a theological interpretation of an ancient decision in the above-mentioned sense which seemed to be imposed by the changes in custom and views. It is noteworthy that in the apocryphal Pahlavi work of the last century, the so-called *Vičarkart i dēnīk*² (Vd.), the *čakar*-wife (here called *čakar žan*) of the prophet *Zarađuštra* is mentioned as a widow, the name of whose first husband is supposed to have been *Mihrayār*, Vd. 22. 8f.³ The passage of the *Bundqhišn*, on which the information of the author of the Vd. regarding the family affairs of *Zarađuštra* is based, GrBd. 235. 15, Bd. 80. 1 ff. = 32. 6 f., does not contain anything

1 i.e. collections of traditions related to religious subjects, compiled in Persian, which are not older than the last decades of the XV century; v. West Gl Ph. I, 125 ff. and Rosenberg, Notice de Littérature Parsie (St. Petersburg, 1909), 37 ff.

2 Cf. M. P. Madan, Actes du XII^e Congrès internat. des orientalistes (Rome), I, 218, who frankly admits the apocryphal character and the late origin of the above work.

3 Jackson's statement, Zoroaster 20: ".....the latter (wife of Zoroaster) is said to have been a widow" is based exactly on that source, and only on it.



of the kind.¹ For the author of the *Bundahišn*, a work dating from the period after the Arab invasion, and obviously the more so for the Sasanian period, the *čakar*-wife (*zan i čakar*) is nothing but a concubine,² a secondary wife with only limited rights allotted both to herself and her children, occupying a place after the *pātaxšāh*-wife, the chief-wife enjoying full rights and mistress of the house (195) *katak-bānūk*). Only a chief wife has the claim for lifelong maintenance by the husband; see MhD. 32. 12 f.

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

١٥٠) *pus tāk purnāy bavēt duxt tāk sōd kunēt žan*
tāk živandak ān i pataxšāhīhā³ x^aarišn u dārišn "the
 son is, until he comes of age, the daughter until she takes
 a husband, the wife as long as she lives,—(i.e.) the chief
 wife,—to be fed and maintained". As far as the children
 of the *čakar*-wife are concerned, it is only the male

¹ The statement made by de Harlez, Avesta XXXI; "Ses (that is, *Zaraduštra's*) trois épouses sont nommées Cagar, Padokhsa et Hvovi" rests on a ghastly misunderstanding of the corresponding passage in the Bd.

2 West, SBE. 5.323, has correctly recognized and recorded it, saying: "...make it more probable that a concubine is meant", but he did not keep to that point of view, as shown by his note SBE. 18.185 and by the translation "serving wife", *ibid.* 189.

3 Literally: "the (wife) of the *pātaxīh-kind*". In the same way as *pātaxīhikā* is also used attributively *čakarīhā* "of the *čakar-kind*" (written  but also ); thus MhD. 32. 15, 17 and N. 18.14, 15, where *čakarīhā* appears as definition of *pit* "father", *pus u, durt* "son and daughter", *fraxand* "children", *apurnayik* "a child under age".

What the word *یوچاکار* really means (the Pāzandist

1 The Cod. Mon. Zend. 51a offers for the second passage (S̥nŠ. 12.14) on fol. 129 v. 11 f. the following not quite unimpeachable text

2 The word is undoubtedly found in Gahri (ZDg.), see ZDMG.
36 66.

The noun **سردار** *sardār* (literally, "the one who stands at the head, princeps"), as well as the corresponding abstract noun **سرداری** *sardārīh* ("principatus"), are very frequently used in the MhD. And, indeed, the meaning of *sardār*, as a term of jurisprudence, is "the holder of power", the person wielding in any domain some kind of "potestas" (*sardārīh*). The chief rôle belongs to the family-power (**سرداری و دوتا** *sardārīh i dūtak*) i.e., according to the Roman juridical designation, the "patria potestas" and the "manus"; see *infra*, p. 21.16 ff. —By reason of what special meaning here and 3.12 (see under 2) *sardār* is connected with *pātāxšāh*, does not seem clear to me. The rendering of the adjectival *pātāxšāh* through "empowered" seems to me to be everywhere appropriate. The word is mostly found with some supplementary infinitive or supplementary subordinate sentence, by which it is more closely defined, upon what particular subject that power extends.¹ Instead of the adjective, the adverbial expression *pātāxšāhīhā* is also often used, especially, with a negation: *apāt*^o "unempoweredly, without being entitled (to)"; cf. p. 25. 1.7. Different again is the turn of phrase p. 19. 1.9 f and p. 29. 1.22.

2. 3. 15 ff.

سردار سواران سواران سواران
 کد اردار سواران سواران سواران
 اردار سواران سواران سواران

¹ Empowered to do such and such thing or not to do it.

and **דאזע** *dahet*—the present tense instead of the preterite—, with the so often occurring in the case of verbs written ideogramatically **זע** instead of **הע** at the end. The **קא** *ka* supplemented at the beginning of the second sentence could of course have been dispensed with. Of importance are only two alterations: (1) the cancelling of the second **פראזע** *frazand*: the confusion arises from the fact that the copyist had to begin a new page in the middle of a sentence; (2) the restoration of **זע** *x"ēš* for **זאן** *žan*: the copyist has absent-mindedly repeated the preceding (last but one) very similarly looking **זאן**. Exactly the same mistake occurs 27:12: **זאן ד זאן** *žan i žan*, instead of **זע ד זאן** *žan i x"ēš*, and in 12,13, see p. 25 l.6.

The meaning of the passage, which belongs to the same chapter as 1, is: A wife released by the husband from the bonds of matrimony without special stipulations remains under his authority (*sardārīh*, see p. 9 l.1 ff.), so that the children (*frazand*, "**proles**"), borne by her in a new matrimony, become his property.¹

1. I am availing myself of the opportunity in order to record a remarkable passage found in MhD. 1.2 ff. ^{၁၂၁} ^{၁၂၂} ^{၁၂၃} ^{၁၂၄} ^{၁၂၅} ^{၁၂၆} ^{၁၂၇} ^{၁၂၈} ^{၁၂၉} ^{၁၃၀} ^{၁၃၁} ^{၁၃၂} ^{၁၃၃} ^{၁၃၄} ^{၁၃၅} ^{၁၃၆} ^{၁၃၇} ^{၁၃၈} ^{၁၃၉} ^{၁၄၀} ^{၁၄၁} ^{၁၄၂} ^{၁၄၃} ^{၁၄၄} ^{၁၄၅} ^{၁၄၆} ^{၁၄၇} ^{၁၄၈} ^{၁၄၉} ^{၁၅၀} ^{၁၅၁} ^{၁၅၂} ^{၁၅၃} ^{၁၅၄} ^{၁၅၅} ^{၁၅၆} ^{၁၅၇} ^{၁၅၈} ^{၁၅၉} ^{၁၆၀} ^{၁၆၁} ^{၁၆၂} ^{၁၆၃} ^{၁၆၄} ^{၁၆၅} ^{၁၆၆} ^{၁၆၇} ^{၁၆၈} ^{၁၆၉} ^{၁၇၀} ^{၁၇၁} ^{၁၇၂} ^{၁၇၃} ^{၁၇၄} ^{၁၇၅} ^{၁၇၆} ^{၁၇၇} ^{၁၇၈} ^{၁၇၉} ^{၁၈၀} ^{၁၈၁} ^{၁၈၂} ^{၁၈၃} ^{၁၈၄} ^{၁၈၅} ^{၁၈၆} ^{၁၈၇} ^{၁၈၈} ^{၁၈၉} ^{၁၉၀} ^{၁၉၁} ^{၁၉၂} ^{၁၉၃} ^{၁၉၄} ^{၁၉၅} ^{၁၉၆} ^{၁၉၇} ^{၁၉၈} ^{၁၉၉} ^{၂၀၀} ^{၂၀၁} ^{၂၀၂} ^{၂၀၃} ^{၂၀၄} ^{၂၀၅} ^{၂၀၆} ^{၂၀၇} ^{၂၀၈} ^{၂၀၉} ^{၂၁၀} ^{၂၁၁} ^{၂၁၂} ^{၂၁၃} ^{၂၁၄} ^{၂၁၅} ^{၂၁၆} ^{၂၁၇} ^{၂၁၈} ^{၂၁၉} ^{၂၂၀} ^{၂၂၁} ^{၂၂၂} ^{၂၂၃} ^{၂၂၄} ^{၂၂၅} ^{၂၂၆} ^{၂၂၇} ^{၂၂၈} ^{၂၂၉} ^{၂၃၀} ^{၂၃၁} ^{၂၃၂} ^{၂၃၃} ^{၂၃၄} ^{၂၃၅} ^{၂၃၆} ^{၂၃၇} ^{၂၃၈} ^{၂၃၉} ^{၂၄၀} ^{၂၄၁} ^{၂၄၂} ^{၂၄၃} ^{၂၄၄} ^{၂၄၅} ^{၂၄၆} ^{၂၄၇} ^{၂၄၈} ^{၂၄၉} ^{၂၅၀} ^{၂၅၁} ^{၂၅၂} ^{၂၅၃} ^{၂၅၄} ^{၂၅၅} ^{၂၅၆} ^{၂၅၇} ^{၂၅၈} ^{၂၅၉} ^{၂၆၀} ^{၂၆၁} ^{၂၆၂} ^{၂၆၃} ^{၂၆၄} ^{၂၆၅} ^{၂၆၆} ^{၂၆၇} ^{၂၆၈} ^{၂၆၉} ^{၂၇၀} ^{၂၇၁} ^{၂၇၂} ^{၂၇၃} ^{၂၇၄} ^{၂၇၅} ^{၂၇၆} ^{၂၇၇} ^{၂၇၈} ^{၂၇၉} ^{၂၈၀} ^{၂၈၁} ^{၂၈၂} ^{၂၈၃} ^{၂၈၄} ^{၂၈၅} ^{၂၈၆} ^{၂၈၇} ^{၂၈၈} ^{၂၈၉} ^{၂၉၀} ^{၂၉၁} ^{၂၉၂} ^{၂၉၃} ^{၂၉၄} ^{၂၉၅} ^{၂၉၆} ^{၂၉၇} ^{၂၉၈} ^{၂၉၉} ^{၃၀၀} ^{၃၀၁} ^{၃၀၂} ^{၃၀၃} ^{၃၀၄} ^{၃၀၅} ^{၃၀၆} ^{၃၀၇} ^{၃၀၈} ^{၃၀၉} ^{၃၁၀} ^{၃၁၁} ^{၃၁၂} ^{၃၁၃} ^{၃၁၄} ^{၃၁၅} ^{၃၁၆} ^{၃၁၇} ^{၃၁၈} ^{၃၁၉} ^{၃၂၀} ^{၃၂၁} ^{၃၂၂} ^{၃၂၃} ^{၃၂၄} ^{၃၂၅} ^{၃၂၆} ^{၃၂၇} ^{၃၂၈} ^{၃၂၉} ^{၃၃၀} ^{၃၃၁} ^{၃၃၂} ^{၃၃၃} ^{၃၃၄} ^{၃၃၅} ^{၃၃၆} ^{၃၃၇} ^{၃၃၈} ^{၃၃၉} ^{၃၄၀} ^{၃၄၁} ^{၃၄၂} ^{၃၄၃} ^{၃၄၄} ^{၃၄၅} ^{၃၄၆} ^{၃၄၇} ^{၃၄၈} ^{၃၄၉} ^{၃၅၀} ^{၃၅၁} ^{၃၅၂} ^{၃၅၃} ^{၃၅၄} ^{၃၅၅} ^{၃၅၆} ^{၃၅၇} ^{၃၅၈} ^{၃၅၉} ^{၃၆၀} ^{၃၆၁} ^{၃၆၂} ^{၃၆၃} ^{၃၆၄} ^{၃၆၅} ^{၃၆၆} ^{၃၆၇} ^{၃၆၈} ^{၃၆၉} ^{၃၇၀} ^{၃၇၁} ^{၃၇၂} ^{၃၇၃} ^{၃၇၄} ^{၃၇၅} ^{၃၇၆} ^{၃၇၇} ^{၃၇၈} ^{၃၇၉} ^{၃၈၀} ^{၃၈၁} ^{၃၈၂} ^{၃၈၃} ^{၃၈၄} ^{၃၈၅} ^{၃၈၆} ^{၃၈၇} ^{၃၈၈} ^{၃၈၉} ^{၃၉၀} ^{၃၉၁} ^{၃၉၂} ^{၃၉၃} ^{၃၉၄} ^{၃၉၅} ^{၃၉၆} ^{၃၉၇} ^{၃၉၈} ^{၃၉၉} ^{၄၀၀} ^{၄၀၁} ^{၄၀၂} ^{၄၀၃} ^{၄၀၄} ^{၄၀၅} ^{၄၀၆} ^{၄၀၇} ^{၄၀၈} ^{၄၀၉} ^{၄၁၀} ^{၄၁၁} ^{၄၁၂} ^{၄၁၃} ^{၄၁၄} ^{၄၁၅} ^{၄၁၆} ^{၄၁၇} ^{၄၁၈} ^{၄၁၉} ^{၄၂၀} ^{၄၂၁} ^{၄၂၂} ^{၄၂၃} ^{၄၂၄} ^{၄၂၅} ^{၄၂၆} ^{၄၂၇} ^{၄၂၈} ^{၄၂၉} ^{၄၃၀} ^{၄၃၁} ^{၄၃၂} ^{၄၃၃} ^{၄၃၄} ^{၄၃၅} ^{၄၃၆} ^{၄၃၇} ^{၄၃၈} ^{၄၃၉} ^{၄၄၀} ^{၄၄၁} ^{၄၄၂} ^{၄၄၃} ^{၄၄၄} ^{၄၄၅} ^{၄၄၆} ^{၄၄၇} ^{၄၄၈} ^{၄၄၉} ^{၄၅၀} ^{၄၅၁} ^{၄၅၂} ^{၄၅၃} ^{၄၅၄} ^{၄၅၅} ^{၄၅၆} ^{၄၅၇} ^{၄၅၈} ^{၄၅၉}

𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 (mostly written without the diacritical signs; with similar signs as here also MhD. 3. 13; 9. 15; 83. 4). I read it (following the spelling to which none of the readings suggested up to the present do justice) *ēvēnāk*. The original meaning of the word is "appearance", further "form, manner", etc. It is, therefore, connected with MPB. 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *vēnišn*, "**visus**", MPT. *vēn*, Pers. *bīn* "see", as Fr. Müller, WZKM. 4. 355, was the first to point out. Along with *ēvēn(ak)* there have co-existed two more words of the same meaning, namely: (1) *āvēn(-ak)*, which is merely a combination with another prefix¹; I discover it in the Pāzand word 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *avinā*, Bd. 29.14=14.11, in which, it is true, the marks of quantity have somehow miscarried²; it would have been correct to write 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *āvina*; GrBd. 95. 6 has got 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭, which would be *āvēnāk* (instead of *āvēnāk*); (2) *ādēn(ak)*, with the same prefix as *āvēn(ak)*, but with the initial (*d*) of the supplementary stem, which is, for instance, contained in the MPT. Infinitive *dīdan* "to

1 Such differences are certainly not unfrequent; cf., e.g., MPB. 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *ēvāč* (thus Dk. V 2.9; 5. 6 etc.) along with 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *āvāč* = Pers. آواز *āvāz*; MPB. 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *ēvar*, along with Pers. آور, and many others; see for it Salemann, Bruchstück. 25 (1).

2 The bird called here 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *sin i so avinā* is called 57. 12 and 59. 9: 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 *sin i 3 ēvēnāk*; but Gr. Bd. 121.3 and 122.14 there stands similarly as 95.6 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭. Asana has in his PahlDict. 953 a word 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 in the meaning of "a good mode, manner" and 954 a word 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭, with the meaning "a good practice, way, mode". He reads the former *hū-gūn* and the latter *hū-gūnē*. One would be inclined to see therein the above cited Pāzand word. But Asana's statements cannot be relied upon.

see" for the Imperative *vēn* "see"; I find it in the MPB. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** *bačakādēn* AVN. 17. 15, which West, Gl. and Ind. 77, renders through "inaccustomed"; Asana, PahlDiet. 516, 528, gives **𐭠𐭣𐭥** and **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** with the meaning "custom"; we further encounter the word as borrowed word in the Arm. **արեն** *arēn* at the end of compounds, for which see Hubschmann, IFAnz. 8. 47 f. In Modern Persian *ādēn(ak)* is represented through آینه *āyīn*, آیین *āyīna* "institution, custom, manner",* but, owing to the *-vē-* having changed into *-yē-* which has been discussed by me in the Zum AirWb. 73 f., the same Pers. words contain also MPB. *āvēn(ak)*; the fusion had taken place in Sasanian times; the *āyēn* which then came into existence has been preserved by Sebeos in certain official titles like **շահրայենպետ** *šahrayēnpet*; see Hubschmann, Arm Gr. 1. 59, IFAnz. 8. 47.¹

* The meaning of the author is not clear: both the traditional reading of the word *civīnak* and the reading *ainīnak* (suggested by Salemann) fully cover the spelling. The Persian آینه and آیین are certainly not two different forms of the same word and the latter never means anything but "looking-glass, mirror", and only the former (Sanskrit अयन) has all the abstract meanings given here by the author. It, therefore, seems to me that the prevailing confusion is based on the occasional coincidence in sound and spelling of two absolutely different words, which have nothing in common with each other either in meaning or in origin, the word *āyīn* (Skr. *ayana*) "way, path, manner" being obviously connected with the Sanskrit root *i-* "to go", whereas *āyīnah* "looking-glass" could be plausibly explained from the root MP. *vēn*, Pers. *bīn*.—The Translator.

1 ^oThe word for "mirror" in Pers. آینه *āyīna* is the same as آیین "custom" etc. The two conceptions—cf. *species* and *speculum*—are closely related. The Bal. word for "mirror" *ādēn*, *ādēnk* points by

The alterations introduced by me in the text are of the slightest kind: twice was there cancelled a superfluous final stroke. I left as it was the 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤍 which follows upon the first 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤍 , because that mode of writing, instead of the correct $\text{𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤍} = \text{guft}$, has become practically the rule; cf. **West**, Gl. and Ind. 271 (and **supra** p. 10. 26 f.).

The purport of the passage is, in my opinion, correctly summed up in the words of *Vahrām*. There is no other matrimony except the **manus**-matrimony; v. **supra** p. 9. 9ff. Whoever enters matrimony (*žanih*) assumes thereby without any further conditions the duties of a husband with regard to the spouse¹ as well as the rights

1. As to the duty of maintenance, which results from the guardianship (*stārāh*, see p. 38, note 1). For the case, when a woman has neither a holder of power (*sardār* see p. 9. 1), nor a guardian (*stār*), being thus in a state of *sui juris*, special decisions come into force under certain circumstances; cf. MhD. 36. 6ff.: مهر مرد و نفقه زن و استیفاء آن

circumstances; cf. Mh D. 36. 6ff.: ਸ੍ਰਮ ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਣਾਏ ਦਿਓ
ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਣਾਏ ਦਿਓ
ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਣਾਏ ਦਿਓ
ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਣਾਏ ਦਿਓ
ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਣਾਏ ਦਿਓ

• • • • •
 pa nāmcišt u stārīh i kis nēst gāyēt u pa i + gātān + frazand zāyēt u .
 ān zan x^optak āngōn nēst kuš x^os tan u frazand dāit n tuvān ōi marī
 ān frazand tāk purnāy bāvēt, u ān zan tāk ān frazand purnāy bavēt pa
 parvarīšn u x^oarīšn u vastrāk dārīšn, i.e. "If a man mates with a
 woman, for whom there is no special holder of authority and guar-
 dianship from any side whatever and subsequently to the mating a"

6.2 ff.: "If the plaintiff says: This piece of property belonged to *Āturfarnbag*, from *Āturfarnbag* it went over to *Mihryōn*, from *Mihryōn*, it went over to myself and is my property, and *Farrox*" has got it in his possession without authority". The same three names—*A.*, *M.* and *F.* will recur again and again.

” ۱۹۵۳ *zyānak*: thus in conformity with **Neryosang's** reading ۱۹۵۳ *zyānaa* for Šv. 14. 67, whereas **West** finally suggested SBE. 47.111 the reading *zihānak*, most certainly only in order to be able to connect this word with the Pers. زهیدن *zihīdan* = زایدان *zāyīdan* “**gignere**”. That, however, in itself has little value; besides, the correctness of the traditional reading is warranted by ZDg. *ziūna* (*zīvūna*, *zīvūnī*); see ZDMG. 35. 379; 36. 65, 75.—The word is not at all rare. I note for it, besides, the following passages: MhD. 32. 5 f.; 37. 5; 44. 5; 45. 6, 8; 50. 8 ff.; 64. 4 f.; 65. 13; 95. 8; 102. 5; 103. 11 f.; GrB. 228. 11 (=Bd. 77. 7, where it is wrongly written ۱۹۵۳); N. (Tahm.) 23.8; Dk. VII. 95. 1; Kn. 135. 138 f.; PV. 5. 49; 3. 25. In the latter passage ۱۹۵۳ is used to render the JAv. ۱۹۵۳ *vantaoe* (see my AirWb. 1355). **Neryosang** renders in Šv. 14.67 the word through कलत्रं *kalatrām* “spouse”; he uses the same noun also when translating ۱۹۵۳ *žan*; and in fact, no difference can be perceived in the meaning of the two words in the above cited passage of Šv., where they both occur simultaneously. The Gabri words (**supra**, line 14) mean nothing else but “woman”.—The fact that the word ۱۹۵۳ appears in many a passage in a striking connection with

𐭠𐭣𐭥 *mērak*, namely MhD. 45. 6 f.; 50. 8 ff.; GrBd. 228. 11, and PV. 3. 25, seems to me important for the definition of the more special meaning of the word. In this instance

𐭠𐭣𐭥 constitutes the masculine counterpart of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

In PV. 3.25 we read: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *mart kē dōst i zyānak ōi kē dōst i zyānak mērak*, which certainly means: "The man who (is) the friend of *Zyānak*, the one, who (is) the friend of *Zyānak*, (is) *Mērak*". The passage MhD.

45.6 ff. reads: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

ka gōwēt kum ēn x'āstak pa stūrīh ō zyānak ʾdāiō ō mērak + dāt + ka.... pa nāmēišṭ padtāk nē kart kātak-x'atād + vitart + x'āstak ō zyānak rasēt čē pa dūtak ētōn nīrmattar*, i.e. "If he says: 'This money has been made by me a settlement of on *Zyānak* or on *Mērak*', and if he....[probably; has not made any indubitable statements as to the person], then after the death of the master of the house the money goes over to *Zyānak*, because, thus it is more profitable for the family". Somebody else might be so fortunate as to discover there in the key for the meaning of the two words *zyānak* and *mērak*.* I note besides, that in *Gabrī* not only *zyānak*

* The two words could probably have been mere names to designate juridical persons, like *Farroḫ*, *Mihryōn* etc.—*The Translator*.

" has developed into *ziūna* (vide *supra*, 23.14), but also *mērah* into *mīra*. Houtum-Schindler, ZDMG. 36. 65, gives the two words together with the resp. meanings "Gatte" and "Gattin".


5. 12.13 ft.



[illegible]



*ka *gōwēt ku ēn žan man + x'ēs + tō apātəxšāhihā
dārē u—?—bavēt tāk 3 yāvar—?—bavēt žan bē nē apəs-
pārišn čē dārišn ēvar u bun [i] x'ēših varōmand u ka
pa x'āstāk sox'an + ē + pēšēmār hamgōnak gōwēt adakāš
dātəstān hamgōnak bavēt.*




* "If he [the plaintiff] says : ' This woman belongs to me; thou hast [her] in [thy] possession without authority', and it comes to legal proceedings, then the woman is not to be assigned [to the plaintiff] before the third examination in court has taken place; for, the possession is obvious and the origin of the ownership is doubtful. And if the plaintiff in a lawsuit concerning property makes a similar statement, the decision regarding the same is similar".

Instead of **שני** the Ms. has got **שני**, see above 11.10

instead of  it has got |, the horizontal stroke having been forgotten; see for it **Salemann**, *MānStüd.* 1. 158, note.

The passage is taken from the "Chapter on Legal Proceedings", which occupies the space from 10.11 to 15. 1,  *dar i-?*. I have not yet come across the word, for which I could not suggest any satisfactory reading, anywhere except in the MhD. Here it occurs about 30 times and is in any case meant to designate some institute of the Sasanian jurisdictional system. In the majority of cases it is followed upon, as above, by the verb  *bavēt*, literally "it happens"; thus also 7. 12; 10. 13, 15; 11. 3, 4, 8, 14, 17; 12. 2, 12; 15. 5, 6; further, besides, 7.14, where another form of the same verb is used in conformity with the hypothetical turn of the sentence. Several times it is immediately preceded by the complaint, as uttered by the plaintiff.

When the claim of the plaintiff ( *pēšēmār*), was met with by the defendant ( *pasēmār*), then, of course, the matter was settled by mutual agreement. Otherwise, a legal decision in the case became necessary. A proposal to settle it in the latter way could have been made not only by the plaintiff, but equally also by the defendant. When the latter (the less frequent) case is dealt with in the MhD., then the definition

 *hač pasēmār* is added to the word  "proceedings in court", in the sense "from (by the proposal of) the defendant", thus 7. 14; 11.8, 14; 12. 2, 17, or else merely  *i pasēmār* "of the defendant", thus 14. 12.

wife¹ it is written thus: At the first hearing in court the decision has to be passed: 'Continue [in] matrimony with the exclusion of mating'; and at the second 500 drachms are to be deposited as security, and at the third

is the end";—(2) 10. 16 ft.²: $\frac{1}{2}$ अष्टाश्वत्थस्य

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (॥१॥) ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

အသံ-ဝေ (၁) ၁၁၉ + ၁၅၆ + ၁၃၅ = ၃၁၀

سے اُد و م و ہ ک (دوسرے) و ک و م س د ا و کس ا لہ

ಮುಖ್ಯಕಾರ್ಯದರ್ಶಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸಹಾಯಕರುಗಳು

ka gōrēt ku man

x'ēš dārom um pasēmār hač (pa) x'ēših dāštan vižāst (u) pa ēvak—?—vičir kunīšn ku tāk dātastān sar bavēt mā vižād u pa—?—i ditikar graw [i] havandē bē apəspārišn i pa sitikar ēraxt, i.e. "If he [the plaintiff] says: '[The piece of real estate,] which I possess is my property, and my possession is encroached upon by the defendant', then at the first hearing in court the decision has to be passed: . 'Until the proceedings come to end, forbear from encroaching upon [the same]'; and at the second hearing a corresponding security is to be deposited³, and at the third the "guilty" is pronounced";⁴ (3) 11. 13 ff.:

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

1 The legal possession of which forms the object of the lawsuit ;
v. s. p. 25. 6 ff. •

2 cf. for the passage *supra* p. 27, 3 ff. and the notes thereto.

3 cf. the **Cautio de amplius non turbando** of the Roman law.

4 Literally: "he is guilty"; see for the meaning of the word *infra* p. 38. 8 ff.

6. 10. 7 ff.

١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠
 ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠
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 ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠٠

*ka 'pasēmār andar rāyēnišn nox'ist gōwēt kum žan i
 tō nē gāt u pas gōwēt kum gāt bēm nē andar žanīh
 i tō ē gāt vaštak sox'anīh rād ērart.— u pači žahm ka
 gōwēt kum nē žat hē u pas gōwēt kum andar + abōdīh + ē
 žat hē aḏqkēi ērart.*

• “If the defendant in the course [of the proceedings
 in court] first says: ‘I have not had intercourse with thy
 wife’, and afterwards says: ‘I have had intercourse with
 her, but I have not had the intercourse with her during
 her matrimony with thee’, then he is guilty because of the
 false construction of his statement.—And also in case of
 bodily injury, if he [first] says: ‘I did not beat thee’,
 and then says: ‘I beat thee in [a state of] unconscious-
 ness’, then he is also guilty”.

" Instead of ١٠٠٠٠ the Ms. has got ١٠٠٠٠ *hubōdīh*,
 i.e. “perfume”, a common word, which was put there by
 the copyist instead of the rare word unfamiliar to him.

The passage belongs to the chapter bearing the head-

ing: **dar i vaštakīh u apārīkī ērangīh** "Chapter about misrepresentation and also other frauds". Already in the preceding chapter there is often mentioned "misrepresentation" (*vaštakīh*). What *vaštakīh* actually means becomes obvious from the subjects exposed and examples quoted.

Whoever later perverts (**varitēt** or **vertēnēt** "vertit") a single detail of his earlier deposition, inculcates himself even through that "perversion" (**vaštakīh**).¹ According to what is said in

1 On p. 91 of the MhD, there appears a long series of prescriptions as to what should be paid special attention to with regard to the depositions made in court, and especially as to what should be avoided as being unimportant or prejudicial for the forming of a just decision. It is said there that one has to find out definitely the "what" (**ṛc ʕē**) and the "who" (**kē**) of the contest, not to make statements "in a pell-mell way" (**pa vimēčak vimēčak**), not first "with determination and then with doubt" (**pa ēvarīh u paṣ pa vimānīkīh**); not to make the statement; "thus have I heard" (**kum ēlōn āšnūt**) or "thus have I thought" (**kum ēlōn mēnūt**), not, "to lose the power of speech in the middle of the deposition at the sight of the opponent" (**anday miyān i sox'an ka hamēmār dīt asox'an [būtun]**), and so forth.

I add here, besides, one more prescription dealing with the evidence given by a witness and the credibility of the evidence, which is found MhD. 73. 3 ff. : **dar i vaštakīh u apārīkī ērangīh** "Chapter about misrepresentation and also other frauds". Already in the preceding chapter there is often mentioned "misrepresentation" (*vaštakīh*). What *vaštakīh* actually means becomes obvious from the subjects exposed and examples quoted.

MhD. 9. 14 ff., such falling back (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥) *vartēnitan*)
 • can concern in a real action: (1) the time — 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥
hangām—, at which, (2) the (former) lawful owner—
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *dastawar*—, from whom, and (3) the way and
 manner—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *čē ēvēnak*—, in which the object in
 dispute came into possession.¹ In dealing with a criminal

• 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ka pēš dāstawarān*
gōwēt ku man hač ān mart i nāmēišīk—?— dužd kart u ān xamān*
duždīt man dārom aparēi dōšān i apārik pa gōkākēh šāyēt čēš ān gōwišn
nē pa nīrmat i x'ēš guft; ka gōwēt kumān dužd kart u ān xamān duždīt
dōšān i apārik dāwēnd apar dōšān apārik pa gōkākēh nē šāyēt čēš ān
gōwišn pa nīrmat i x'ēš guft. “When he states before the judges: ‘I
 have once committed with regard to a certain other man a theft, and
 what was stolen at that time I have in my possession’, then he
 is capable of giving evidence also for other things,’ because that state-
 ment was not made in his own interest; if he [however] states: ‘We
 have committed a theft and what was stolen at that time is in the
 possession of the other [parties concerned in the theft]’, then he is
 not fit to give evidence for other things, because that statement was
 made in his own interest”.

* Only the two first cases are substantiated by examples. They
 are as follows: (1) “If he [the accused] says: ‘A year ago did
 [the thing] come in my possession from *Mihryōn*’.....and then says:
 ‘Two years ago’.....”; (2) If he [the accused] says: ‘[The thing]
 was *Farrox*’s property, and was given by him to me.....,’ [and] then
 says: ‘It was *Mihryōn*’s property and by him’”.

* How is 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 “antiquitus” to be read? See also MhD. 9. 6; 16.
 2; 18.11, 14. 28.14; 60.10; 86.3. The St. Petersburg *Frahang*
 transcribes 87. 3 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 which is certainly incorrect; Šv. translates in
 Pazand 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xamast*, e.g. 4. 76, 89; 16. 8, 96, guided by which
 Salemann, Bruchstück, 18, reads, it is true not without misgivings,
hāmīst. Is that word contained in the 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 of N. 12. 23? Then the
 above mentioned 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 would be merely a corrupted form of the same.

case the perversion of the statement (𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sox'an*) concerns the deposition made by the accused at the first charge or at the first examination regarding his participation in the deed. In all cases, it seems presupposed, that the earlier statement corresponds with the truth, so that the later statement is consequently a perversion of the truth. Hence the expression 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sox'an vartēnītan* "to pervert the statement", came to mean not only the changing of an earlier statement, that is to say a subsequent misrepresentation of the real state of things, but also an untruthful statement in general. Cf. MhD. 9. 13 ff., where 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *vaštak sox'anīh*, lit. "the state of one who makes a perverted statement", appears actually in the sense of "false statement"; v.i. p. 39. l. 16.

With regard to the fine, which the accused has to pay in the first of the three cases, we are enlightened in MhD. 73. 7. The same amounts in general to 300 *stīr* (i.e. *stateres*).¹ Should the deed, however, have been committed under aggravating circumstances, "when he [the accused] kidnaps the wife of a man and has intercourse with her illicitly" (𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ka žan i mart ē duždēt*²

𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *u apātaxšāhīhā gāyēt*), then the fine amounts to 700 *stīr*, above and besides 500 drachms for the act of kidnapping; see MhD. 73. 8 f.

¹ The deed is consequently conceived to be *tanāpuhr* (𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥) "a sin", cf. e.g. Šn Š. 11. 2; 17. 5.

² Thus probably. A few lines before, the same word is written 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥. The word "thief" in the MhD. occurs only in the form 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 not 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥; v.s. p. 32, note 1.

६५६८-) *rāyēniśn*: in other passages it is besides followed by the definition **६५७०-)** or **-६८-)** *i dātastān* "of the proceedings in court"; e.g., 8.16; 9.10, 12; 16.9. The verb **॥१३५८-)** *rāyēñitan* "to put (and keep) in motion" (in the Sanskrit translations mostly rendered प्रचारयितुम् *pracārayatum*) is the current expression for the exercising and carrying on the legal proceedings, whereas the term used to designate its conclusion is **॥१४१९-)** *sar kartan* "to make head (= end)"; cf. 74. 13; **६५७०-**

॥१४२०-) । **॥१३५८-)** "to conduct and to conclude the proceedings"; see further 7. 9; 12. 5; 14. 10; 16. 15; 77. 15. Occasionally that verb might also be used with regard to the application of various legal measures; thus, e.g. MhD. 76. 6 f. **६५६८-)** । *var rāyēñīśn* "arranging the ordeal."

• **𐬰𐬀** (also **𐬰𐬀𐬭**, e.g. MhD. 1.5): I read it *šahm* and consider it to be the same word as **𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀** and **𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭** in another spelling (e.g. AVN. 5.13; N. 74. 18, 21; DkB. 82. 7), whereat the **𐬰** (*t*) in it is to be regarded in the same way as in **𐬰𐬀𐬭** *mīhr*, **𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭** *šahr* etc.; cf. West, SBE. 37.37 and Salemann, MPGr. 21, 54. The word can be traced back to Avestan and Prae-Iranian **ǵadma* i.e. "blow", AI. हन्ति *hānti* = JAv. **𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀** *ǵainti*, and takes its origin in the ancient juridical language. That origin might also explain the unusual *x* in the corresponding Persian word **زخم** *zaxm*.

سدر : I read that word *ērdxt* and translate it "guilty", but I have to confess, that I am not wholly certain of its correctness both as regards the reading and the translation. Cf. thereto **Bartholomae**, IF. 12. 111 ff. and **Salemann**, Bruchstück, 25, also **West**, Avesta..... Studies, 1. 188. I fail to see any possibility of actually bringing together to a common basis all the different words, that seem to be homogeneous both phonetically and as regards their meaning. It almost seems, as if the shoots of a "root" with *a'i* and another with *a'n* were entangled pell-mell with each other. I read *ērdxt* because

the word is mostly spelt سدر thus MhD. 7.⁸; 8. 7; 9. 3, 15; 10. 2, 7, 9, 10; 11. 2, 4, 7, 9, 15; 83. 15; 97. 15; 102. 8; GAb. 9. 2, 4; GrBd. 231. 3. further PY. in Y. 31. 3, 19; 47. 6; 51. 9 in **Spiegel's** edition¹—, because the Judeo-Persian texts contain it in the form אֵרֶאֶחְתָּה *ēraxtah* (see **de Lagarde**, Pers. Stud. 71), and, finally, in conformity with the Pāzand form in the GAb. عَرَاخْت *ērāxt*.²

But the spelling سدر is also encountered, which seems to point to *ērīxt*—thus once 9. 2, also in the MhD. —,³ and with it there again coincides the Pāzand reading of Šv. عَرَاخْت *ēraxt*. As the original meaning of the


1 **Spiegel** has, obviously by mistake, سدر.

2 A word *aīrākht* is recorded by **West**, SBE. 5.394; he translates it "uninjured", which is incomprehensible for me. I am not acquainted with the text of the original, but I presume that here, as frequently also in other places (see further below), *ērdxt* and *buxt* are used in opposition to each other.

3 I consider, however a simple confusion with سدر = (1) *rišt* "injured" and (2) *rīxt* "spilt", to be very much possible.

verb, there certainly could be accepted "to declare convicted and guilty, **damnare, condemnare**"; *ēraxt* would in that case be "convicted, declared guilty, condemned; guilty; laden with crime; damned"; the latter meaning is attached to the Judeo-Persian word. Not seldom is *ēraxt* also used as the opposite to **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩** *buxt*¹, for which cf. **Horn**, NpEt. 270, **Hübschmann**, ArmGr. I. 222, **Salemann**, Man Stud. I. 60. It seems to me, that the meaning "declared guilty, condemned" would fit here very well in opposition to "acquitted of guilt, absolved". Important for ascertaining the meaning of it is also the passage MhD. 97. 13 ff., which runs as follows:—

[illegible]

1 One ought to take also into consideration the proper nouns MPS, *yazdānbuxt* and MPB. *yazatānēraxt* (*yazdānēraxt*, ) GrBd. 231.3), i.e. "absolved by God" and "condemned by God", the latter being a name of abuse applied to one of the sons of Frāsyp see West, SBE. 5. 135 (incorrect Justi, NB. 146).

which also 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 *ēranjēnišn*, 8. 7; 9. 8; 102. 11, 12.—It is worth while to note, that the verb appears, exactly in the same way, as the Lat. **damnare** and **condemnare**, also in the sense of “to have condemned, to carry through the sentence”, when it is used by the plaintiff with regard to the accused; thus MhD. 9. 3 ff. :

𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮
 [𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮
 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮
 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 + 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮
 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮

ka pasēmār pa vaštak sox'anīh ēranjēnēt u pas padtāk bavēt ku pēšēmār dātastān [i] drōy x'āst pēšēmār x'āstak išt hač pasēmār bē grift + apāk + bar išt burt.... ō pasēmār dahišn, i.e. “If he [the plaintiff] brings the accused by means of a false statement to conviction, and then it becomes evident that the plaintiff has obtained a wrong decision, then the plaintiff has to hand over to the accused the money received from the accused with the interest accumulated on it”. And thus also GAb. 9. 2, where at the end of the religious discussion *Māmūn* and the rest of the audience exclaim addressing *Abāliš*

𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 + 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 + *šav čēt eraxtan nē tuvān* “begone! for thou canst not carry through the conviction”, i.e. thou canst not obtain that we should declare thy opponent to be defeated, as thou wouldst have it”.

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KT., C.I.E., B.A., PH.D., LL.D.

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NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ZOROASTRIAN CALENDAR.¹

BY E. CAVAIGNAC.

*Translated by Homi D. Banaji, Esqr., B.A., LL.B.,
Advocate (O.S.)*

Thucydides (VIII, 58) gives the text of the third treaty concluded between the satraps of Darius II and the Spartans with such precision that the treaty dates itself close to some weeks—it is of January 411. Now it is dated as of the 13th year of Darius II. The historians of Greece record it without objections. However the date can be made out from it: it is generally believed that the first year of Darius II runs from "Nisan"² (March-April) 423 to "Nisan" 422; his 19th and last year, from "Nisan" 405 to "Nisan" 404. His 13th year, therefore began only in March-April 411. Even if we suppose that he antedated his event by "Nisan" 424, effacing the ephemeral reigns of Xerxes II and Sogdien, nothing more can be explained than that the royal lists for him at least reckoned only 19 years. The difficulty seems to be inextricable.

That is so in fact, if we take it for certain that the Kings of Persia followed the Babylonian computation. (Cf. Prasek, in *Hilprechts Anniversary Volume* 1909). That is a hypothesis which suggests itself for the origins

1 I beg to thank Mr. Homi D. Banaji for kindly complying with my request to translate Mr. E. Cavaignac's article entitled "*Note sur l'Origine du Calendrier Zoroastrien*," 1 *Journal Asiatique*, tome 20 n. (Janvier-Mars 1923, pp. 166-170.)—Editor.

2 Nisan = New year.

of the monarchy. In 521, Darius I still seems, according to the inscription of Behistoun, to admit that the Iranian months coincide exactly with the Babylonian months. But was that the case in 424? Here the structure of the Zoroastrian calendar is invincibly presented to the mind.

We know that the Zoroastrians made use of a special calendar: even at the present day it is still in vogue among them. It was well known and studied in the Middle Ages by the Arabian chronographers. It was the official calendar of the Sassanian monarchy. (Cf. Ginzel, *Handbook of Chronology* I, pages 275 to 309).

The Zoroastrian year consists of 12 months of 30 days each and 5 intercalary days. It is thus a year obviously inaccurate. A system of intercalation, consisting of adding a month every 120 years, prevailed regularly enough, maintaining it in a line with the Julian year.

We see that this calendar is essentially the same as the old Egyptian calendar. Now in the face of such an artificial system, in which the year and the month are completely detached from their natural basis, it is impossible to admit a mere coincidence. At all events the burden of proof would devolve upon him who would admit it; and the proof must be overwhelming.

It remains to be seen when the Iranians could have borrowed this Egyptian calendar. In the 5th century B.C. the borrowing seems probable. In the 4th century, Egypt was separated from the Persian Empire, except during the brief period 343 to 332. After that, Iran had no direct contact with Egypt during the Macedonian period (3rd, 2nd centuries B.C.), the Parthian period (1st century B.C., 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.) and the Sassanian period (3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th centuries). There

was one exception: the generals of Chosroes II in the beginning of the 7th century were during some years masters of Egypt. But at that time the Egyptian calendar was in vogue only among the Coptes, who, moreover, followed a system of intercalation, radically different from that of Iran (a sixth intercalary day every four years). We should therefore leave aside the hypothesis of the borrowing being at such a late date.

It seems to us therefore inevitable to admit that the borrowing of the Egyptian calendar by the Persians took place in the 5th century B.C., even without taking into consideration a text of Quinte-Curce (III, 3, 16), indicating that in the times of Alexander, the Persian year was already of 365 days. How can one explain the borrowing? Since 477, after the repeated revolts of Babylonians and the last repression, that of Xerxes, a strong reaction against Babylonianism seems to have come into existence among the Persians, a reaction from which even the town of Babylon visibly suffered.¹ Besides, in the 5th century, the Persians had for a long time learnt to recognise other civilizations, those of Egypt and Greece: their architecture shows that they borrowed from this domain as many ideas as from old Babylon. It is then but natural that they should have adopted at that time the Egyptian calendar which was much more practical than the Semitic calendar with its system of complicated intercalations. Besides, the change must have coincided with other religious changes, an index of which would be the adopting of a protecting

1 It is even possible that the reform goes further. Herodotus (V, 20) says that Xerxes began his march "at the end of his 5th year." As this departure took place in the autumn of 481, the Persian New Year day must therefore have fallen, since that period, towards December (cf. below).

genius for each month and day as in Egypt.¹ We are thus led to indicate the interest which this little fact here pointed out presents.

We know that the Persian religion can clearly be traced only at the late Arsacide period and the Sassanian period. Of course, numerous elements of this religion come from the Iranian times or further still, but it is difficult to determine their importance: at least for the profane, the Iranian scholars seem to be little agreed on this point. The reason for the hesitations is that between the two periods Persia underwent a long period of foreign rule, first Macedonian and then Parthian, during which time many national traditions must have gone down: thus the Avestic period hardly seems to have retained the memory of the giants of the Archemenide period, Cyrus and Darius. Hence the outbursts of extreme scepticism that we have seen displayed, on the possibility of the Iranian religion to have gone through this long period without any radical change.

If, as I believe, a precise element of the religious tradition, the calendar, has safely crossed the obscure period, the fact must have some consequences. The calendar is always an important document for religious history. A number of beliefs and rights are reflected in it. What are these? It goes without saying that in this matter, those only who have access to original sources, the Iranian scholars, could reply with precision. The only object we had here was to point out the interest of a detail the study of which has often repulsed the specialists of Iranian history.

I believe indeed that there exists a supplementary indication of the Egyptian and Archemenide origin of

¹ Cf. also a curious article of Mr. Murray, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1921 p. 79.

the Avestic calendar. Here I am on ground which is too little known to enable me to press hard the history of the Iranian calendar in the Middle Ages. I think, however, I must indicate the hypothesis.

The Arabian writers testify that in the year 448 of the era of Yezdegerd, they had the equation:

$$19 \text{ Ferwerdin} = 15 \text{ March } 1079.$$

They add that since the fall of the Sassanians, the Iranian calendar continued without intercalations, and that in 632 the 1st Ferwerdin fell on the 16th June. For that period we can trust them.

According to these very writers, in the time of the Sassanians, there prevailed the system of intercalations that we have already pointed out (one month in every 120 years): the intercalary month was not always the same, it advanced every year at every intercalation, and in 632 it was in the 8th month (Aban). They were still well informed concerning this period, when they conclude, for instance, that the intercalation had already taken place eight times and continued thus regularly to the Archemenide period, it becomes difficult to follow them. (Cf, however, Ginzler *loc. cit.*, p. 296). Besides the calculation would lead us precisely to the 5th century B.C. But I think I must resist the temptation of utilizing this for our thesis.

The Zoroastrian calendar became the official calendar in Iran only with the Sassanians (226 A.D.), because the Arsacides have followed the Macedonian "eunéakai-dékétéride." In the 3rd century, the Iranians, compulsorily recognised the Roman year, and it is quite natural, that they rectified theirs. If they at first added the intercalation after the sixth month (like the Babylonians, the Athenians, etc.), then, for religious reasons,

adopted the rotation of the intercalary month, it is normal that in 632 they were, by reason of such intercalation, in the 8th month.

In 226, the 1st Ferversin, therefore fell already in June. Prior to that, it is most natural to admit that the old calendar was in vogue in the mountains of Persia as in the times of the Archemenides, without any intercalation. And at that time the new year day (I do not say the 1st Ferversin, because it is more than probable that the old names of the months, the names of Behistoun, still existed), the new year day, in the 5th century fell in December. *It is exactly the time when the Egyptian year at that period began.* And it could be explained in the same way how the Sassanian new year day had been brought to coincide with the month of June, a period singular enough from the very first.

I could not help pointing out this remarkable coincidence. But let us come to the point: the adaptation of the Iranian national calendar to a date anterior to 424 B.C., not according to the Babylonian computation, but according to the Egyptian computation, with the new year day in December. Then Darius II made his first year commence, not in "Nisan" 423, but in December 424, and his 13th year consequently in December 412. And the treaty of Thucydides, which is of January 411, is in its proper place.

A FEW LEGAL POINTS FROM THE MĀDIGĀN- I HAZĀR DĀDISTĀN

Relating to

THE FOUNDATION AND MANAGEMENT OF HOLY TEMPLES,
SERVANTS DEDICATED TO THE SERVICE OF THE TEMPLES,
BENEFITS RESULTING TO THEIR FOUNDERS, RESPONSIBILITIES
IN RESPECT OF HANDING OVER FOUNDATIONS RELATED
THERETO, PERSONAL AND FAMILY PROPERTY, PENALTIES FOR
SORCERY AND HERESY, RAISING STATUS OF WIFE AND
CHILD, INSTRUMENTS GIVING VALIDITY TO ADOPTION, ETC.

BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE ENGLISH
TRANSLATION OF THE WORK

BY SOHRAB JAMSHEDJI BULSARA, ESQR., M.A.

[During my study of the reign of Khusru Parviz for my paper entitled "Eighteen remarkable Things or Events of the Reign (593-628 A.C.) of Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II) of Persia"¹, I had requested Mr. Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara, the learned translator of the Mādigān-i Hazār Dādistān to kindly send me extracts relating to certain matters. He had kindly done so. I give here with the kind permission of the translator, the extracts as it will take some time to publish his complete translation. I do so in the hope that students of Khusru's reign may find them interesting, as this great work seems to have been compiled during his reign.—EDITOR.]

¹ Journal B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II (N.S.), No. 2, pp. 111-137. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers", Part IV, pp. 19-48.

CHAPTER XLII

On Miscellaneous Correlated Opinions

42. (a) And it has been said that during the sovereignty of His Celestial Majesty Khûsrôê, the son of Kavât, a person whose name was Kakah and a person whose name was Âtrô-Tôkhm had a common landed property with an idol temple (on it). So with the command and direction of the Master of Divinity they pulled down the idol temple there, and set up on it (instead) a Column of the Holy Flame.

(b) Now when they made an application to the Department of the Executive in respect of the Column of the Holy Flame, the land (was assigned) without a questioning from Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm, to the Column of the Holy Flame, and an order (was issued) to ensure the guardianship of Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm and their children and descendents over it.

(c) (Accordingly) Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm consecrated that Column of the Holy Flame to the Temple of the Holy Triumph, and till Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm were alive, Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm were holding that temple under guardianship; but after the decease of Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm, Bôrzak who was the Master of Divinity in Artakhsht-Khoreh, so ordered that according to the proper rule of action that Temple of the Holy Flame was to be held under the guardianship of *all* the children and descendants, even including those born of daughters, of those Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm who had set up (that Temple); whereas the order of Vât-Ayîbâr was that Dât-Farrokhô who was the son of Dât-Aûhar-mazd, and the Jurisconsult for Opinions, was of this opinion that if those who had set up that Temple of the Holy Flame had given no instructions as to the guardian-

ship of that Temple, then, in so far as it had been set up by Kakah, the guardianship was to be with the best eldest of all the children and descendants of Kakah, and, in so far as it had been consecrated by Âtrô-Tôkkm, with (the best eldest) of all the children and descendants of Âtrô-Tôkkm, and (accordingly) an instrument was to be prepared and signed and sealed (to that effect).

43. Alongside it has been said that as to a property, regarding which there might be an order about its having been assigned by a person for (his) benefit and ownership, while it can be held by such person (or his) children and descendants for (their) benefit and ownership, and they can develop and cultivate it as their own, that person can, at the same time, also hold that property quite distinctly from (his) children, and it can be as lawful (for him) to grant it away (to any one) as any other (personal) property (of his own); and one would be free from (all) responsibility when one would contend that a property which had been appropriated by parents that way, could not be demanded back, inasmuch as it should be only such as might (already) have been settled on the children which could be ordered to be restored on its having been appropriated by the parents.

44. And it has been said that when one declares so as to say: "I have assigned the property (so as to belong) to the daughter on the Fravartîkân Days, dedicated to the Holy Spiritual Essences, within the year of its purchase", then on (his) having purchased it (even) during the five days commencing with the day of the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ, it shall belong to the daughter (during the same Fravartîkân days).

45. Alongside it has been written in the same treatise, on the same documentary evidence, and even in

accordance with the opinion of the Grand Master of Divinity, and on the command of the King of Kings, that although Yazdkart had lived in the earlier fifties of the tenth century (of the Ninth Millennium), still also the sovereignty of His Celestial Majesty Anûshak-Rûbân (of Immortal Fame), as well as all our immediate forefathers (must be taken to) fall in the same century. And (hence) although also Hâdât and Farnbag and Âtrô-Bâjît lived in the latter fifties (of that century), they must rightly be assigned to the same century with Âtrôpât, the son of Zartôst. Whereas when anything has been noted specially about the "earlier fifties", that reference must then be taken to have been made just to that (entire period which runs) up to the commencement of the "latter" (fifties).

46. It has been said that as regards a property which a sorcerer may have at the time they are attesting to his sorcery before the Spiritual Lord, when there are those to whom he has caused hurt, it shall pass on to such to whom he may have caused hurt; whereas when they have been giving witness about it, and it cannot be ascertained as to against which party he committed crime, then (it shall pass on) to the witnesses, and the sorcerer (shall be spared his) life.

47. Alongside, it has been made manifest from warranted Castellan Orders and the Gazette of Orders for Special Functions in the Provinces, that when a property (is to be confiscated) for a teaching of heresy or for a belief in heresy. (such) property shall be made over to the Imperial Government.

48. And it has been said that it might be allowed if a Temple of the Holy Flame were set up out of the gift

assigned for marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness. And indeed when that has been set up, he who assigned the property as gift for marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness, must not be considered to have had the benefit of marriage in that condition lost to him (thereby).

49. Alongside it has been declared that as in the case of the gift of Dāt-Gōshnāsp, the son of Shatrōi-zāt, that (sort of gift) might (also) be arranged in a definite way; and as authenticated by the opinion of Vakhshapāhar, the Grand Master of Divinity, under his hand and seal, in the declaration of Dāt-Gōshnāsp it has so been written as to say: "I have set up a Temple of the Holy Flame dedicated to the Holy Triumph; and I have granted this property to the Temple of the Holy Flame as being the property assigned for my marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness and to be held as belonging to the Temple of the Holy Flame".

50. Alongside, according to Mahraspand who was the Spiritual Lord, in the case of a man who had settled this way: "I have set up a Temple of the Holy Flame, dedicated to the Holy Triumph, in my family", he might be taken to have (had gained the benefit as of having) been assigned a wife in the condition pertaining to barrenness (by that means).

51. And it has been said that when a servant attached to the Temple of the Holy Flame, has been relieved of the service of the Temple which is under the control of the Government, owing to his being made free by a person, he could still indeed be (seized) in the name of His Imperial Majesty on committal of a crime by him, (and) made over to the Imperial Authorities and committed by

the Imperial Authorities to (the service of some) other Temple of the Holy Flame (as a penalty for that crime).

52. In this respect it may be noted that in the reign of His Celestial Majesty Vâhrâm, the King of Kings, and son of Yazdakart (the Monarch), Mitrô-Narsih, the Grand Minister, had committed (a person) to the service of the Temple of the Holy Flame dedicated to Righteousness the Most Excellent Good, and the Temple of the Holy Flame dedicated to the Imperial Majesty of the Realm (And) on that commitment he had been held in the service of the Temple of the Holy Flame for several years; but after that, on the command of His Celestial Majesty Yazdakart, the King of Kings, and son of Vâhrâm (the Monarch), he had been made over to the Imperial Authorities on charge of a certain crime, and held in custody by the Imperial Authorities for some years; and after that, on consultation with Mart-Bât who was the Grand Master of Divinity, and other Episcopal Dignitaries as had assembled then, His Celestial Majesty Pîrûzh, the King of Kings, had committed him to the service, not of the same Temple of the Holy Flame, but of the Temple dedicated to the Splendour of Divine Triumph.

53. And it has been declared that on a maiden not being produced by the father or the husband for the service of the Temple of the Holy Flame, and although there might be no fault of hers (therein), still then she ought to be made over to the Imperial Authorities, on (such) default of the father and husband, and in accordance with the Imperial Command.

54. Moreover, with respect to money which should have come from one's wife or adult children in a complete sum for maintaining the office of the Atarvakhsh

(Priest feeding the Holy Flame) or an attendant, on the money not being handed over, the woman as well as the adult child would be (rendered liable for being) made over to the Imperial Authorities notwithstanding no fault whatsoever having been shown by the woman or the adult child (therein).

This law should be observed side by side with the decision which the Jurisconsult for Opinions similarly gave in the case of Kakah and Âtro-Tôkhm, as has been noted above.

55. And it has been said that when one declares so as to say: "I have settled property for marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness, on the woman married in the family in the condition pertaining to barrenness", then there was one who maintained that such assignment cannot be possible, whereas there was one who said that (this) would not be assignment for marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness (at all), and that the property must return to the family.

56. Moreover, as found in a case of an application at the Court of the Master of Divinity in Artakhshatr-Khoreh to validate that for action, it will have to be held that when one declares with respect to one's wife who is a widow that has married again, and to the child born to such wife, so as to say: "I would accept into the privileged condition the wife and likewise the child", such (mere) declaration must not be regarded as what need be followed out in action.

57. Whereas on the other hand, the statement of Bôrzh-Âtrô, the son of Farnlag, maintained that when (there is an application with respect to the acceptance of) the wife that is a widow who has married again, and of

the child born to such wife, as the wife in the privileged condition and as the child in the privileged condition, then the order ought to be just the same as in the case when one would adopt one as son or as daughter; and (on action according to that) a property might remain with the wife and might come to her just as it would when she were one in the privileged condition.

58. And in respect to that, one has, (in those cases of adoption), to settle and place on record by means of additional writings and documents signed, sealed and confirmed before the Episcopal Dignitaries to this effect: "I adopt him as son".

59. And it has been said that when with respect to a settlement, one enters into an agreement with the woman married in the condition pertaining to barrenness this way: "I have assigned this property to thy children with this condition that to the family into which thou hast been married in the condition pertaining to barrenness. ..

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· RECENT IRANIAN RESEARCHES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS—III.

REVIEWED BY DR. J. C. TAVADIA, B.A., PH.D.

Lecturer in the University of Hamburg.

Messina, Giuseppe: Der Ursprung der Magier und die zarathuſtrische Religion. Roma: Pontificio Instituto Biblico 1930 (p. 102).

Father Messina is a pupil of the late Prof. Markwart of Berlin, of whose advice he has had the benefit in this investigation which deals with the origin of the Magi and their relation to the Zoroastrian religion. This important question has often been discussed, but the results arrived at are not in conformity with one another. The fact is that the notices on the Magi are different in different sources; and we have to take them as representing the situation or development in different times and places. For the solution of the problem of the origin, however, we have to show the development in its broad lines and distinguish between its native and foreign parts.

First the author examines the notice of Pliny and its sources in his 30th book of *Naturalis Historia* where he speaks of different classes of magic (which comprised medicine, priest-craft and astrology). One of them was of Persian origin, Zoroaster being its founder, and another of Egyptian-Jewish origin. The former was considered good, and its practisers were called Magi, the latter was despised and its practisers were called Chaldeans, to distinguish them from the other, at least by the learned. Still, the teachings of these both were mixed up. The influ-

ence of Chaldean or Babylonian astrology upon the Magi was really there—the author has added a chapter on this point,—and Hermippus must have introduced the combined teaching in literary tradition, whereas for the mixture of Egyptian-Jewish sorcery Bolo can have been responsible. In any case, Hermippus and his sources do not ascribe the practice of sorcery to the Persian Magi, but only that which can safely be called Zoroastrian. They are also unanimous that Zoroaster was a Magus; and according to Xanthos he lived 600 years before the invasion of Xerxes. This date occurring in all the important mss. is correct; the variant 6000 occurring in two mss. is influenced by the more common date “6000 years before Plato” which latter in its turn is to be understood in a different sense. Here Messina should have taken into account Hertel’s argument about the questionable character of the evidence in question, see his *Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen Beiheft zu Heft VI* (reviewed by me in No. 11 of this Journal).

Then the author turns to the Avesta and Middle Persian literature and shows that the Magi, who were responsible for its creation etc., were opposed to sorcery, and that their art of reading the future from the stars etc. was not borrowed from Babylon which was, on the contrary, considered as the seat of their enemies. Therefore, distinction must be made between Zoroastrian magic and Chaldean magic, and whatever is handed down as the teachings of the Chaldeans should not be accepted as those of the Zoroastrian Magi. After this comes the most essential part of the investigation, viz. that which deals with the meaning of *magu-moyu*. This word occurs only once in the Avesta, Y. 65, 7, (*moyutbiš*—‘enemy of the Magi’) from which it is not possible to see the original meaning. But there occurs a similar word *maga*- and its derivative

magavan- in the Gāthās, and Messina wants to connect the other with it. Now the meaning of this word too is given differently by different scholars, but the author agrees with those who connect it with Sanskrit *magha-* 'gift'. In order to find out what sort of gift is meant, he examines all the passages wherein the term occurs, and shows, especially from Y. 53, 7, that it does not refer to future reward or paradise as taken by Geldner. The words 'If you let go this gift, then will "woe" be your last word' show that some gift in this world is meant. Then the demonstrative 'this' is taken to refer to the advice or teaching given in the preceding stanzas. The conclusion, therefore, is that the term *maga-* means the religion of Zoroāstra. This view is fully confirmed by Y. 45, 3, which contains the same idea with somewhat different wording. Here *mādra-* is used in the place of *maga-*, and this settles the suggested meaning of the latter. It is not without interest to note that Maria W. Smith holds the same view. She says "I add a slightly different connotation to Carnoy's translation and take 'wealth', or 'gift', as I have translated *maga-*, to refer to the faith, the spiritual wealth, which man possesses even in the present life, and which is the key to all the blessings of the future life. The *magavan-* is then 'the one having the faith', i.e. the believer in the true religion" (Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas § 76). Messina further shows why *maga-* 'gift' is chosen as the technical term: the prophet receives the divine teaching through Vohu Mano, in other words it was 'the gift of Vohu Mano,' and hence 'the gift' in brief. It is clear that *magavan-* then means the follower of the prophet. Similarly *magu-* *moyu-* according to Messina, who points out that it is formed by suffixing *-u-* instead of *-van-*, just as we have *gaēsūš* 'having curly hair' from *gaēsa-* 'curly hair', and *marγuš* 'having meadows' from *marəya-*

'meadow'. If such be the case, then Zaratustra is really the first magus. It is quite natural that later on his followers, the Magi, were looked upon as priests, and that they must have formed a class, but not a race or tribe as Herodotus informs us. The highly philosophical and abstract teachings of the Gāthīs make it probable that they were in the care and possession of such a select class only, (whereas the masses were attracted to the new religion because of its economical and other practical reforms). This view finds support also from certain classical notices. The silence of Herodotus points to the same thing: he could see and relate what the people publicly did and observed, and for the secrets of the Magi he might not have received information from one of them, but from a Persian who did not adopt nor like their religion. Messina then describes how the Magi had to make changes in the original teachings of the prophet owing to internal and external causes later on.

A summary of the whole investigation is to be found at the end, but there is no index. This would have been very useful for the various interesting and important details scattered in the body of the text and in the notes.

Markwart, Jos. : Das erste Kapitel der Gāthā uštavātī (Yasna 43) herausgegeben von Jos. Messina. Roma : Pontificio Instituto Biblico 1930 (p. 7, VI, 80).

This work of the late Prof. Markwart has been edited by his pupil Messina who has added the life of the author to it, from which we get a very good idea of his character and scholarship. A list of his principal works as well as his photograph and autograph are also to be found here. The greater part of the book is occupied by preliminary remarks of the author. These deal with his system of transliteration in respect to certain aspects of

Avestan orthography. The Avesta as has come down to us does not show the original pronunciation of the time of the authors, but the developed one of the second part of the 6th century A.C. The Magi, in whose school this pronunciation was developed and handed down, have added certain etymological and phonetical glosses in the Avestan words. This is the case in the groups *o*3, *o*o~~3~~ and *o*-*u*, *o*-*u*, where the letter *o* points to the etymology of the words in question. Phonetical glosses are the *y*-s to be found after the ligatures *o*-*u* and *o* which are therefore to be pronounced *hy* and *šy* respectively. Such glosses are to be found also in Pahlavi words, for instance *d* beside *t*, *v* beside *b*, according to Markwart. The next discussion refers to the guttural nasal 3 *o*, wherein the author shows with the help of some dialects that it has some right of existence, as against the later view of Andreas who took it to be a sign for *o*. The third question dealt with is about the signs ~~3~~ and ~~3~~. Markwart considers them to be the ligatures of *a* and *n*, and believes that they represent the reduced *n* (like Sanskrit Anusvara), which is not written in the Old Persian inscriptions. The main evidence is drawn from certain Iranian place names in Greek. This is the case with the other items also, for instance the next one in which it is shown that the sign *o* does not represent *u* or *o*, when it is used to divide the groups with *r*-; in this case it is not transcribed. In other cases it is a labial vowel used for *a* and *ā* before a nasal, a labial, or a labial spirant. It is also used for an older *-as* in the middle as well as at the end of a word. This phenomenon is explained by supposing that originally *-a(h)* was written as in Old Persian inscriptions, but it was spoken or pronounced *ō* which later on took its place in writing also. Markwart does not believe in the theory of Andreas about *u* and *o* being *u* or *o*. He also holds that the initial *urv-* is not genuine Avestan; it

must be *vr-*, as preserved by the Armenians. He will not connect this metathesis with Ossetic parallels, because the latter are due to the general tendency of the language to place *r* in the second place in all the groups.

On the question of the real pronunciation and etymology of *Zaraθuštra*, the author makes some novel suggestions. He says that the common Greek form is not to be connected with it, and hence it cannot support the theory of Andreas as regards the pronunciation. Markwart says that the form used by Kosmos of Jerusalem, viz. *Zarāθroustēs*, properly represents Av. *Zaraθuštra*, of course with the transposition of *r*. Moreover, this pronunciation in its turn is due to the change in the division of syllables, *zara-θuštra-* instead of *zarat-uštra-* which gives the etymology 'possessing yellow camels'. The common Greek form *Zōroastrēs* is derived by Markwart from *zrvat-vāstra-* 'possessing green pastures', which being more telling etc. is purposely transformed from the original name. Besides a shortened name there is still another one, *Astrafuxos* derived from **vāstriya-fšu-ka-* 'possessing cattle pastures'.

The last and the greatest discussion is devoted to the letter *z* which must be distinguished from *š*. Junker too has dealt with this and other questions in his *Ursprung des Awesta-Alphabetes* etc. reviewed by the present writer in a former No. (16) of this Journal. Markwart holds different views on the various points connected with the problem. He says that the sign is a ligature of *ihr*, and represents the later (as can be judged from the Pahlavi equivalents having *hr*, *hl*) pronunciation of *-rt-* which becomes also *(h)r*, *(h)l* in north-eastern and other dialects. At all events, it has a cerebral value, even if the pronunciation be *š*, i.e. *ṣ*, as is the case in *Örmürī*. Then is attached a very

interesting account of the dialects of the south-eastern corner of Sogdiana, touching upon the different peoples like the Kušans etc. who occupied it. It may be noted that Markwart still connects the particular deity on Indo-Skythian coins with *Aurvaṭaspa* or *Lohrāsp*, whereas Christensen has identified it with *Drvāspa* in his *Etudes sur le Zoroastrisme* etc. (reviewed in No. 16 of this Journal).

After all this matter comes the part mentioned on the title-page. The original text is given along with the transcription. Important variants are as well noted. And besides the translation a commentary is also added in the form of grammatical and exegetical notes. A complete index prepared by the editor Messina ends the volume which, it may be added, is not printed but beautifully lithographed.

Lommel, Hermann : Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Avesta dargestellt. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr 1930 (p. VIII, 290).

It is for the first time that we have such a detailed account of the Zoroastrian religion from a German scholar. It is based upon the Avesta, but other sources, native and foreign, are referred to by way of completion etc. After some preliminary remarks among which the author holds that the date of Zoroaster must be placed before 714 B.C. because of the occurrence of Mazdaku in Sargon, he turns to the discussion of God, Ahura Mazdāh, and the Two Spirits. Instead of the Good or Holy Spirit Lommel uses the Clever Spirit, the reasons for which are given by him in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 7, 44. This Spirit is distinct from Ahura Mazdāh, especially in the Gāthās, but their relation to each other is not quite clear. And as regards the Two Spirits, the Zervanistic ideas are not to be found

in the Avesta. The second chapter is devoted to the Clever Immortal ones and their opponents; whereas other good and evil Spirits, viz. Sraoša with his opponent Aesma, and Aši the genius of future reward, are discussed in the third. The next chapter called Dualism of Spirit and Body contains some novel theories. The author tries to show that there is a corporeal counterpart to spiritual dualism. For instance, Fire and Serpent to Truth and Falsehood. The corporeal representatives of the good creation are well known, good man, cattle, fire, etc; those of the evil creation are, according to Lommel, as follows: evil man, wolf, serpent, pollution (through corpses etc.) and rustiness, the next uncertain, drought (heat), scarcity of crops (frost).

The account of the different stages of creation is added from later sources like the Bundahišn. Then follows the interesting chapter on man; his spiritual prototype, *daēnā*, *fravaši*; his choice by free will for going into the material existence; his component parts like intellect, soul, consciousness, etc. As a supplement to this account is given the myth about the soul of the cow or ox. The next chapters deal with the soul after death and with the last things or resurrection etc. Then we read about the Zoroastrian ideals of practical piety. Some chips from the pre-Zoroastrian religion or Indo-Iranian comparison form the last chapter. These are: relation of the Clever Immortal ones to the elements and the Adityas, that of the demons to evil animals and things, ethical dualism truth and falsehood. At the end are given a list of Avestan passages quoted in the work and an index.

The reader will find in the book of Prof. Lommel some novel ideas and theories. But the way in which he offers them is rather misleading, I believe. The fact

is that he holds quite different views about the development of Zoroastrian religion in the Later Avesta and in Pahlavi Books. He is more inclined to believe that most of it is in accordance with the spirit and the teachings of the prophet. He has therefore tried to find out even the faintest hints that may suit in the structure that he has formed. Furthermore, he has not taken into account the researches of Hertel. Let it be noted that this review must differ from the preceding ones owing to the nature of the work.

Ivanow, W.: Notes on Phonology of Colloquial Persian (= *Islamica*, Vol. 4, Fasc. 5. Leipzig 1931).

The present notes are based on personal observations of the author during many years of residence in practically every part of Persia. These must be welcome, since till now we have not got portable machines for making experiments on the spot and thus ascertaining the true value of sounds etc. This is very essential for every language, since there is always some difference in letters and sounds. Persian has a rigid and well developed system of traditional orthography; but in conversation its sounds are remarkably elusive. The author has already given some occasional illustrations in his former articles elsewhere; here he gives the main facts in a compact form, after several preliminary remarks about various points. For instance, the standard colloquial language known as *bāzārī* is neither to be found in Tehran nor in Shiraz as is commonly supposed, but rather in small isolated towns of Khorasan. What Persians themselves admire as Tehrani Persian is not the correctness of the language, but the manner of speaking.

The most essential feature of Persian phonology is a strict economy of muscular effort. Harsh and emphatic sounds are avoided; euphonic sounds by means of assimilation etc. are introduced. The accent is effec-

ted not by raising the voice, but by a prolongation of the syllable. Vowels occur in their full colour or brightness only in a favourable consonantal environment. As to their being long and short, the fact is that there is nothing like a feeling of long and short sounds in a Persian speaker. Intonation causes a great divergency between the writing and the speech. A really long syllable is usually due to syncopation as in *šār* for *šahr* through *šaar*. The ordinary *ā* is not pronounced guttural as here, but quite differently as in English 'law' etc. and as *u* before *m* and *n* in closed syllables. This is commonly known, so also the non-existence of *ē* and *ō*, about which Ivanow is very emphatic, he even denies their existence in the past when they might have been *i* and *ü* (?) respectively. After some interesting remarks about several consonants, few cases of apocopation, syncopation, metathesis etc. are added.

Other articles in this number may be mentioned here in order to give some idea of the character of the journal:—*Beiträge zur islamischen Literaturgeschichte I*, by M. Plessner; *Das Problem eines vorislamischen christlich-kirchlichen Schrifttums in arabischer Sprache*, by A. Baumstark; *The use of Poison by the Ancient Arabs*, by F. Krenkow. Besides, there are some notices of books.

Herzfeld, Ernst: *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1929-1931.

The first number of this highly important publication was reviewed in detail last time in No. 16. Unfortunately it is not possible to adopt the same course regarding the next issues just at present. It is however a matter of utmost necessity that at least a brief notice of their contents should appear here. The second number gives a short account of the archaeological observations made by the author in southern Kurdistan

and Luristan. Some of his finds are reproduced on six plates which show that the area deserves a regular survey in the matter. Then follows the great study on the date etc. of Zaratustra, which study is continued in the following numbers too. An abridged version thereof is given by Herzfeld himself in Dr. Modi Memorial Volume under the title Vishtaspa and therefore it is unnecessary to summarise the present one. It is enough to note that many new details are added in the notes etc. One of the essays relating to the problem is called Avestan Topography, wherein the data of Bundahishn also is thoroughly examined. The third number of the second volume contains among other things the newly discovered inscription of Ariyāramna, the great-grand-father of Darius. This find is expected to throw new light on several problems, historical, religious, literary, and artistic. But Prof. Schrader has shown that it is not genuine. Details on this question may be given on another occasion. The first number of the third volume deals with the following subjects: Dareios Soter, Spendarmat-Demeter, A Sasanian Elephant with 4 plates etc. The second one contains the most important article: The Magna Charta from Susa. The text of this new inscription published by Scheil is re-edited with great precision, and a very useful commentary is added to it. The original text is given on three plates. This subject has been continued in the last number, with special reference to the script, phonetics, and history of the language, in order to reach the problem of the Old Persian prosody. These bare facts too will be supplemented by some details by way of illustration in the near future. But it goes without saying how indispensable are the researches of Prof. Herzfeld who works single handed and yet achieves such tremendous tasks.

THE NAME OF THE BLACK SEA IN PRE-MUHAMMADAN PERSIA.

BY A. FREIMANN (LENINGRAD).

"*Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*," Vol. V, pp. 647—651.
Translated from Russian by W. Ivanow.

In the XIIIth chapter of the Pehlevi work *Zandā-gāhīh* (*Bundahišn*), the author, inter alia, mentions three large salt seas. As appears from the title of this work, its contents are formed from the "information", or "knowledge" (*āgāhīh*) of what is found in the comments to the Avesta (*zand*), on the principles of creation, cosmogony or cosmology (*Bundahišn*); in other words, on the complete system of the ideas concerning the creation, as they evolved in the Zoroastrian Persia of the Sasanide period. Some cosmogonic ideas of this work have recently attracted the attention of the students of the history of religion who see in the *Zandāgāhīh* the source of influence which played a great rôle in the development of the speculative religious philosophy of the Near East.

Some fundamental parts of this work, as it was proved (cf., for instance, *Ztschr. f. Indol. u. Iranistik*, II, 76), are connected with the portions of the Avesta which did not come down to us, but the contents of which was recorded in Middle-Persian literature. The data pertaining to the ideas in natural history and geography, preserved in this work, also present considerable interest. An indispensable condition of an analysis of such information, however, is, obviously, a correct reading and interpretation of the corresponding passages. This was not always quite correct due to the well-known diffi-

culty of reading Pehlevi script. Here, in this paper, we are dealing with an attempt to read one of such geographical terms as is found in the XIIIth chapter of the *Zandāgāhik*.

The latter work came down to us in two different versions. One of them is known from manuscripts coming from Persia, and dating from the XVIth century, and is called the "Iranian", or the "Large *Bundahišn*". The other, preserved in manuscripts by Zoroastrians of India, and dating from the XIVth century, is twice as short as the former, and is an abbreviated version. The earliest manuscripts of the "Indian" version are preserved in the Copenhagen and in the Munich libraries; they were taken as the basis of the existent editions of the ~~book~~¹. The "Iranian" version has been published in photo-zincography².

In the XIIIth chapter of the "Indian" version, according to Justi's edition, p. 26, line 12, we read:

کلن نال سر هاند مادیوار لاس منځ وټه سر د مېړونو نه وو پیاوړت
 i.e., zray i sūr 3 hēnd mādagvar 28.
 aēt kēh ān 3 i mādagvar ēvag pūtīg⁴ u ēvag kamrōd (?) u

1 Firstly, Westergaard, *Bundehesh, Liber Pehlvisus*. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descripsit—. Havniae, 1851. Secondly, F. Justi, *Der Bundeshesh*. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, uebersetzt und mit Glossar versehen von—. Lpz., 1866. Both editions are lithographed.

2 The Bundahishn. Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2, brought from Persia by Dastūr Tīrandāz and now preserved in the late Ervad Tahmuras' Library. Ed. by the late Ervad T. D. Anklesaria with an introduction by B. T. Anklesaria (Pehlevi Text Series, Vol. III, 1908), Bombay.

3 A variant according to the Copenhagen MS. ed. Westergaard :
 १५५५.

4 The word *pūtīg*, borrowed from the Avestan, has preserved the intervocalic *t*.

ēvag..... i.e., "there are three chief salt seas and 23 smaller ones; those three principal ones are: one *Pūtīka*, another *Kamrōd* (?), and one...." ۳۶ ۳۱۵ ۳ ۳۱۵ ۳ az hār 3. *pūtīg mēh*,—"of all three *Pūtīg* is the largest". In the latter, as is narrated later on, tides and ebbs take place. In that sea the polluted waters are purified and after this they return to the sea *Frāx kard* (Avestic *Vourukaša*), i.e., the Ocean surrounding the Universe.¹ The general opinion of all students who took interest in this matter is that the largest salt sea, possessing tides and ebbs, must be the Indian Ocean with the Persian Gulf².

Concerning the second sea, *Kamrōd* (if the reading is correct, this may mean "possessing a few rivers") it is said in the same XIIIth chapter further on (p. 27, l. 13): ۳۶ ۳۱۵ ۳ ۳۱۵ ۳ ۳۱۵ ۳ ۳۱۵ ۳. Some insignificant variants localise this sea in a different way in the manuscripts of both versions: ۳۶ ۳۱۵ ۳ ۳۱۵ ۳ and ۳۶ ۳۱۵ ۳ ۳۱۵ ۳ *Tawpauristān* and *Turkistān*³, i.e., "in Tabaristan" or "in Turkistan". In other respects both versions are identical. If we accept the Indian version, stating that "*zray i Kamrōd ān i pa awāxtar pa Tawuristān viḍārēnd*", i.e., "the sea *Kamrōd* is that which is passed in the North from (? in the text "in") Tabaristan", we can identify it with the Caspian as the second largest sea after the Indian Ocean on the confines of Persia. The name "*Kamrōd*", or the "having few rivers only" could be applied to it through the fact that there are no rivers falling into it on the Eastern side. It is scarcely

1 The same is observed in the Avesta, cf. *Vidēvd* 18, 5, 18.

2 Cf., for instance, E. W. West, note on p. 43 of his translation of this text, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V.

3 So in one of the MSS. which were used by Anklesaria in his edition, p. 84.

possible that by this name the Aral Sea is meant. It is smaller than the Caspian, and the importance of the rivers flowing into it, especially of the Oxus river, was always too great in the Iranian world that a term like "few-rivered" would be applied to it. Therefore in the translation of this work by West, already referred to, the opinion was expressed that the term *Kamrōd* should be applied to the Caspian.

In the description of the third salt sea the work states only that it is *pa Hrōm*, i.e. "in Room", i.e. in Bysanthium (so in both versions). This sea, which lies outside of Persia, was not well known to the authors of the work; this is probably why the description is so laconic. The sea which is "in Bysanthium" must be, as suggested by West, either the Black or the Mediterranean seas, or both together.

Here we come nearer to our original question: the reading of its name, and the question how Persians called this specially "Room", or Bysanthian sea in pre-Muhammadian period. This name is differently written in the Pehlevi texts which came down to us. Still more, there is the difference in the ways of reading this name by different scholars who studied this text, beginning with Anquetil, and ending with West.

This name is written in several ways, as follows: in the edition by Justi, p. 26, l. 13 and p. 27, l. 15 as *𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥*. In the edition by Westergaard as *𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥*. In the edition by Anklesaria, p. 84, l. 3 as *𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥*. Anquetil du Perron in his translation of this text¹ reads *Djah boun, Djchan*. Windischmann² reads *Saibun*. Justi³ reads *Jabhun*. West: *Sahî-bûn, Gahî-bûn, Gêhân-bûn*. Comparing all these

1 Zend-Avesta. Paris, 1771.

2 Zoroastrische Studien. Berlin, 1863.

3 Lines 15 and 16 of the translation.

variants,¹ we see that they permit the term to be read in many varied ways, but the transcription of Justi, West and Anquetil, who tried to read every sign of the word, are unsatisfactory even from the point of view of reading. It is not clear why Justi reads *جړه* in his edition as *Jabhun*.

These readings are unsatisfactory also from another point of view. Both *Pūtīg* and *Kāmṛōd* are names which could be understood by Persians of the pre-Muhammadan period. These terms are Iranian, possessing an Iranian etymology, as is usual in the Iranian toponymy. *Pūtīg* is an Avestan term, meaning the place in which something that rots is (*i.e.* the place in which the polluted waters are) purified. The term *Kāmṛōd* is already explained. Thus we may be perfectly correct in expecting that the name of the third sea will also be Iranian, and that, due to the general tendency of the middle Persian authors to schematisation, it would be Iranised even if originally known under another, non-Iranian term. The terms like *Jabhun*, *Saibun*, however, mean nothing in Persian, and thus probably never existed.

When trying to read this term, and supposing that it is of Iranian origin, we must not forget that the Northern shores of it were inhabited by peoples of Iranian stock, and that they certainly had to possess a special name for it. It is possible also to suppose that such a name could be given after some feature which was the most striking to the observer, such as the apparent colour (cf. the names like Black, White, Red, and the usual epithet "blue"). The ancient Iranian term (Avestic) *ašaēna-*, *i.e.* the "dark-coloured," which is recognisable in the Persian term *xašīn*, "dark blue, bluish", and in Ossetic (Digoric) *āxsin*, "dark-grey",

1 These apparently are all variants that are known.

would express in a very accurate way the colour of the sea which is now called "Black". Therefore a supposition that this particular circumstance was the basis of the term which was applied to the sea seems quite possible.

M. Vasmer in his researches¹ expressed a very convincing idea that the term which the Greek writers² applied to the Black sea, Πόντος "Ἀῖεϊνος, later on altered into Εὐῖεϊνος, is the name which was adopted by Greeks from the Iranian inhabitants of the Northern coast of the Black sea, Σκυθικὸς Πόντος³, and that the term "Ἀῖεϊνος represents the ancient Iranian term *axšaēna*-. :

If this is so, and if Greek historians have really preserved for us the ancient Iranian name of the Black Sea: *axšaēna*-, we may see whether the term applied to it by the Pehlevi work mentioned above (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥) is a trace of that term in the Pehlevi language. This term in Pehlevi should sound *axšēn*, *xašēn* (*axšaēna* > *axšēn* > *xašēn* > Modern Persian *xašīn*).

• And really if only, as is written, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 we join the third letter with the next one, we obtain 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 i.e., *xšyn*, the usual form of the word in question as it appears in the Pehlevi, and as given here in the edition by Westergaard.

Thus the brilliant guess of M. Vasmer is supported by the Pehlevi text. The third salt sea, therefore, situated *pa Hrōm*, in "Room", was called under the Sasanides *Xašēn*.

1 Die Iranier in Südrussland (= Untersuchungen ueber die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven, I), Lpzg, 1923, p. 20, and the Acta Universitatis Dorpatensis, S. B., Vol. I, No. 3.

2 So in the works by Pindar, Euripide, and Strabo.

3 So in the book of Theocrites.

FOUR SHORT PAPERS ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS BY A. FREIMANN.*

BY W. IVANOW.

- I. *Is there a "Central Asian" Legal Term in the Sasanian Code?* (Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1918, pp. 311—2).

The paper is a criticism of an article by C. Inostrantsev, "A Central Asian Term in the Sasanian Legal Code", *Zapiski of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, Oriental Section*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 29—32. The term in question, *čakar*, is met with in the Pehlevi work on law, the *Mātikān i 1000 dātestān*, which is a very difficult book to understand due to the large number of legal and other technical terms. These terms were used during a period about which we know very little with regard to its social, legal and other institutions. C. Inostrantsev tries to collate the information about some details of the family customs during the Sasanide period with the references of Tabari to the legal reforms of Khosrow Anushirvan. He justly sees in many of these the ideas which are met with in the "Code". This, however, A. Freimann regards as not sufficient for ascribing to the Code the date from the period of that king.

He takes up the questions about the form of the marriage which was technically called *čakar*. At present such term is applied by the Parsis to remarriage of widows. The Zardushtis of Persia use in their dialect

* I am thankful to Mr. W. Ivanow for kindly complying with my request to give a few Notes on the contents of the papers kindly sent to me from time to time by Prof. A. Freimann. I beg to thank Prof. Freimann also for kindly sending me his papers.—EDITOR.

the term *čakar* for a "concubine". The derivation of this term is, however, obscure. C. Inostrantsev states in his paper that in the newly discovered texts from Eastern Turkestan, in the Northern Indo-European language (I), this word means "daughter", or "girl". He refers to the Bulletin of the Academy, 1909, p. 551.

In reality, however, the word, mentioned by C. Inostrantsev, *does not exist* in the Tokharian texts which have so far been read. On the page referred to there is the word *čkačar* = "daughter" (not "girl"), and there is no reason to regard this word as identical with the Pehlevi *čakar*. Therefore his fundamental idea in the article, about a term derived from Central Asia, becomes null and void.

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- II. *A List of Manuscripts acquired in Bukhara in 1915 by W. Ivanow on behalf of the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences.* Part II. A. Freimann. Jewish Persian MSS. (Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1918, pp. 1279—1282).

W. Ivanow, being commissioned to purchase Muhammadan MSS. on behalf of the Russian Academy of Sciences, undertook a tour in Bukhara in 1915, and has acquired a large collection of over 1100 volumes of Persian and Arabic MSS., many of which were very valuable due to their rarity or antiquity. Amongst these there was a certain number of Turkish, Pashtu, Hebrew, and Jewish Persian MSS. A preliminary list of the Persian MSS. in the collection, prepared by W. Ivanow himself, was set in type in 1918, but never was published due to his having left Russia. The list of the Arabic MSS. was prepared by I. Krachkovski, but remains so far also unpublished. The present paper gives the list of the 25 volumes of the

Jewish Persian MSS. belonging to the collection. The MSS. chiefly deal with religious matters, and are very valuable not only for the study of their philological peculiarities, but also for certain ideas about some peculiarities of the religious beliefs and rites amongst this branch of Eastern Jews. Eight MSS. contain poetry, mostly religious, partly translated from Hebrew. Others contain psalms, prayers, etc., and three copies of the *Khudāydat-nāma* (which was edited, from other MSS., by the late C. Salemann: *Judæo-persica*, I. St. Petersburg, 1897). There are also two MSS. of medical contents, and a versified story of Budhasaf and Barlaam (very popular in India in an Arabic version amongst the Bohras).

The majority of the MSS. date from the XIXth century, but there are several of them dating from the XVIIIth century also. A list of the MSS. is given.

III. *Pehlevi Papyri, and Other Objects of the Ancient Iranian Civilisation, Preserved in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts.* (Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1918, pp. 1925—1928).

The excellent collection of V. Golenishchev, which forms the nucleus of the department of the Ancient East in the Museum, is its real pride, due to the richness of the material and to its exceptionally fine arrangement. A huge collection of the papyri contains those in Hieratic, Coptic, Arabic, Greek and Pehlevi languages. Only a small part of it, in its purely Egyptian branch, has been edited so far. The Pehlevi portion of it has never been studied.

It is possible to see, by studying the papyri in a chronological order, how gradually the technique of

preparation of the material degenerated, and the art of writing on the papyri was forgotten. The Arabic and the Pehlevi papyri are extremely bad. This bad and rough quality of the writing material adversely influenced the handwriting. Letters are crude, and the characters belong to a type different from what we know from the MSS. of Indian or Persian origin. They are very difficult to read. Unfortunately, though Arabic documents very frequently are accompanied by a Greek translation, which helps very much in their deciphering, the Pehlevi MSS. never have a Greek parallel text.

The contents of the fragments are apparently chiefly documents, letters, business papers. The peculiarity of the handwriting is the illegibility of the horizontal lines, though the vertical lines are clear, which makes it impossible to define precisely the subject without a careful study of each piece.

A list of the fragments is given, with purely external description.

IV. *On the Suffixes of the Plural -t, -ist, -ev, -iv, in the Northern (Scythian) Group of the Iranian Languages.* (Bulletin of the Department of Russian Philology of the Russian Academy, Vol. XXIX, 1925, pp. 397—406).

In his paper "On the Suffixes of the Plural in the Languages of the Sogdian Group" (Japhetic Album, Vol. II, Petrograd, 1923, pp. 1—17), F. Rosenberg, the well-known (though not prolific) Iranian scholar of St. Petersburg, suggested that it is possible to think that the suffixes of the Plural, such as -t, -ist, -ev, and -iv, found in some languages of the Northern Iranian group, may be the relics of the influence of the language of the

pre-Iranian population of Iran on the language of the invaders. As the languages of the autochthonic populace of the Iranian lands are not known, he thinks, that they probably were akin to those of the Japhetic races, and accordingly, traces these suffixes to some of the languages of that group.

A. Freimann, however, completely rejects this theory, proving that all these suffixes are quite indigenous to the Iranian languages, and can easily be explained from Iranian Philology.

Suffix *-t* undoubtedly ascends to the collective and abstract Iranian suffix **-θva* > Ancient Pers. **-tva* > Indo-Europ. **-tvo*, to which the late Prof. C. Salemann traces also the Persian suffix *-ihā* (Pehlevi) and *-hā* (Modern Persian). Here we see the universal phonetical rule in Persian about the transition of *-θv-* into *-h-*. In the languages belonging to the Northern Iranian (or Scythian) group the phonetic modification took a different form, and the same group *-θv-* generally gives *-tv-*, or ultimately *-t*, occasionally, as in Middle Parthian language of some Central Asian fragments, as *-ft*: *āmuždēft*, *vigādēft*, *šahrdāreft*. This spirant *-θ* is preserved in the Yazghulami: *varág* (horse), Pl. *veregáθ*.

The other particle indicating Plural, *-išt*, belongs to the same category, and is a real suffix. Originally it was used for expressing the collective nouns. It is akin to the Pehlevi *-išn*, or Modern Persian *-iš*. This suffix also had a gerundial meaning, and formed a complete analogy to the preceding one, **-θva*.

The remaining two suffixes, *-ēv* and *-iv*, have been already explained by W. Geiger (Grundris d. Iran. Phil., Vol. I, Part 2, p. 315), as a relic of the ancient ablative and instrumental case, *-aiβiš*, which appears in Ancient Persian in the form of *-aiβis*, and in Vedic San.

-ebhih, originally used as suffixes only in the declension of the pronouns, but later on introduced also into the declensions of ordinary nouns. The proof of this supposition may be found in the fact of the existence of the suffix *-ēv* in some Upper Oxus dialects in pronouns, while such suffix does not appear in nouns. Such are the dialects of Sarikol and the group of Eastern Rushan subdialects (*čediv* and *čodēv*), while the Western Rushan subdialects and the Shughni have the suffix *-in* (*čōdīn* and *čadīn*). But the demonstrative pronoun in all of them has the suffix of the Casus Obliquus of the Plural *-v*. Cf. Shugh. *div*, Rush. *dēv*, *dēf*, Sarik. *div*, *dēf* (comp. the Middle Vedic *etebhih*).

In this way it is possible to trace in the ancient general Upper Oxus language that it possessed two Oblique cases in the Plural, one with the suff. *-ēv* (from *-aiβiś*) and the other *-in* (from **-inām*).

TWO SILVER DISHES OF SASANIAN TIMES.

BY F. ROSENBERG.

[Dr. F. Rosenberg, of the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad, has recently published in Russian (*Zapiski Kollegiyi Vostokovedov*, Vol. V, pp. 137—144), a paper describing two silver dishes of Sasanian times. I am thankful to Mr. W. Ivanow for kindly giving me in brief the substance of the paper.—EDITOR.]

“The paper deals with description of two silver dishes descending from the Sasanide period, or just after it. Two dishes are given in photographs on the tables attached to the paper, both with an image of Behram Gur, with a female slave, riding a camel, and hunting antelopes. The one on the first table was newly discovered in the Ural hills. The second belongs to the collection of Likhachev, and was known long ago. The purpose of this short paper is to give a translation of the notes in Pehlvi, which these two, and one more, in another collection, had at their bottoms. The photographs of these inscriptions are given on page 143. The reading is given at the bottom of page 142 and the translation at the top of page 143. It is as follows:—1) Cost 3 dinars 2 drachms, *Perōžān*; 2) Property of *Perōžān*, cost 4 dinars; 3) Property of *Mitrōžēt*, 1 dinar and 3 drachms, cost.

Dr. Rosenberg criticises all these data, and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that the dish discovered recently in the Ural hills, may date with others from the period between the end of the VIIth and till the beginning of the XIth century A.D., but, perhaps, may also be of an earlier origin.”

ZOROASTER AND ZOROASTRIANISM, AS
DEPICTED IN REV. DR. CHARLES GORE'S
GIFFORD LECTURES ON "THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GOOD LIFE", WITH A
FEW OBSERVATIONS.

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

The Gifford Lectureship, founded by Lord Gifford in the University of St. Andrews, is held in high esteem in the learned world. Scholars, who have made themselves eminent in the field of learning, are chosen for the lectureship. The object of these lectures, as declared in the Trust of the Lectures, is "the promoting, advancing, teaching and diffusing the study of Natural Theology, in the widest sense of that term, in other words, the knowledge of God the knowledge of His nature and attributes, the knowledge of the relations which men and the whole Universe bear to Him, the knowledge of the nature and foundation of Ethics and Morals, and of all the Obligations and Duties thence arising". In other words, I may say, that the object of the founder was, that the lecturers of his foundation may, from time to time, place before the public, not only before the learned public of divines and philosophers, but before a large intelligent public, their views about the advantage of one's being "in tune with the whole Universe". I think a Parsee may properly say that his daily prayer of "Nemô Aongham" (𐬨𐬁𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬊𐬎𐬌 Yaçna I, 16), may often, very properly, form the text of the lectures as desired by Lord Gifford. The lecturer, for the season 1929-30, was the eminent scholar, Revd. Dr. Charles Gore, who took "Good Life" as the theme of his lectures. He has recently published his Gifford Lectures under the title of "The Philoso-

phy of the Good Life". Out of his 12 lectures in the series, six present a "historical survey" of the teachings of old prophets, beginning with Zarathushtra and ending with Christ. The object of this paper is to present a brief outline, with my observations, of what the learned lecturer says about Zoroaster and his teachings of "good life".

I

In his Introductory chapter, Dr. Gore says:—"In very early history, we find; that the idea of the good life is developed, perhaps for the first time on very distinct lines, in the teaching of the Iranian prophet Zarathushtra" (page 17). According to the Zoroastrian books, it may be taken to be so, because Ahura Mazda had offered the mission to Yima Khshaeta (Jamshid), but it was refused by Yima, on the ground, that he was not learned and well-informed enough, to carry the mission (*nôit dâtô ahmi nôit chistô mârêto bârêtacha daênayao*. Vendidad II, 3).

Our author refers to some earlier pre-historic civilizations (p. 32). Taking it, that, wherever there are religions, more or less well-founded and organized, there are civilizations, we have the evidence of the existence of such civilizations in the Avesta itself, because it speaks of the existence of religious scriptures other than Zoroastrian. It says, that Zoroastrianism is as superior to other creeds (*dâta*), as the sea Vourukasha (the Caspian) is superior to other seas, as a large mass of water is superior, in point of its running speed and force, to a smaller mass of water, as a large tree is superior to smaller trees growing under its shade (Vend. V, 22-24). For the very first civilization, in which one can find "a more or less concrete idea of the good life for man we must come down to a more recent but still very ancient date", the date of Zoroaster.

Dr. Gore, though he, resting on the authority of Ed.

The Date of Meyer and others, thinks it reasonable to take the date of Zoroaster to be about 1000 B.C., likes to "be content to leave the date in uncertainty" (p. 33). Let us see if Dr. Gore's 'uncertainty' can be made "less uncertain". We know, that, there are two classes of writers, who are appealed to, in the matter of the date of Zoroaster. (1) The Classical writers, who themselves differ, not by one or two hundred years, but by two to four thousand years. They place him in years, varying from 6000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. (2) On the other hand, there are Parsi Pahlavi writers, who wrote about 8 to 10 centuries ago, and wrote, most probably, on the authority of old tradition, oral or written. If written, those earlier manuscripts are lost. They all unanimously give to Zoroaster, the date of 300 years before Alexander the Great, *i.e.*, they place him in the 7th century B.C. Some of the modern European and American scholars accept this latter date. But there are other modern scholars, who seem to say:—"Both, the classical scholars and the old Pahlavi scholars, are *wrong*". They then give dates, varying from 1200 B.C. to 800 B.C. I am inclined to say: "Both, the classical and the Pahlavi scholars, are right". The key to that solution seems to be that, as asserted by one or two classical writers themselves, and by one or two later Parsi writers, there may be two Zoroasters. Pliny the Elder seems to think, that there may be two Zoroasters¹ (Natural History, XXX, 21). Suidas (about A.D. 970) also seems to have thought so.² Among the Parsi writers, one eminent who held this view is Dastur Mulla Pheroze.³

1 *Vide* Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 14, p. 44, for the quotation.

2 *Vide* my paper on "The Birth-place of Zoroaster", Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 9, pp. 1-113. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers", p. 134.

3 *Vide*, for an account of his teaching, Mrs. Graham's Narrative of her Journey.

As to the Pahlavi writers, our author says:—"The later Parsi priesthood, *perhaps*¹ influenced by the desire to bring the now mythical and divinized Zarathushtra nearer to their own time, put him in the seventh century B.C."² I beg to think that, that is not the case. There is no authority to say so, even for our learned author's "*perhaps*". Were it so, they would have given the date, while writing of Zoroaster himself. But they refer to his date casually, while speaking of the destruction of Parsi literature at the hands of Alexander. The modern Parsis are inclined to throw off the authority of their Pahlavi writers of about 1600 years ago, and prefer transferring the date of their prophet from the times of the authentic historical antiquity, assigned to him by these Pahlavi writers, to that of the times of hoary antiquity, ascribed to him by some of the classical writers.

Dr. Gore says:—"There is every reason to believe", that the Gathas "are the genuine utterances of Zarathushtra, or written under his immediate influence" (p. 33). There is "no doubt" of "their accurate preservation, because they were required to be correctly uttered" and "intuned with sanctity". It is the Visparad (chapter 14, s. 1), that speaks of such requisites. It speaks of its proper recital as metrical lines or couplets (*mat-afsmānem*), word by word (*mat-vachastashtim*), with the proper understanding (*mat-āzaintim*), in its form of questions³ (*mat-pêrêsvīm*), with counter questions (*i.e.*, replies, *mat paiti-peresvīm*),

1 The italics are mine.

2 The Philosophy of the Good Life, *op. cit.* p. 33, n. 1.

3 This reference to something like the Socratic way of teaching and preaching seems to be a reference to the 44th chapter of the Yagna (*1at thwā peresā ārēh-moi vaochā Ahurā ?*) which presents, as it were, the teleological proof, or the Argument from Design, in the matter of the Existence of God.

with proper accents (~~mat~~ vaghzi byascha), and poetic feet (or scanning, padhe byascha). The Sarosh Yasht (Yt. 57, s. 8) also enjoins such a careful recital (afsmānīvān yachastashtvat mat āzaintīsh mat paiti frasāo).¹ Such a careful recital ensures correctness of speech when coming down orally from father to son. Hence it is that, there is all probability of Zoroaster's utterances, coming down correctly from age to age. Again, the recital of the Gathas is spoken of as "singing" (frāsrāvayat, Ys. 57, s. 8). Such a singing with all the above requisite precautions, or, as Revd. Moulton calls "constant repetition with traditional music" further ensured correctness and "preservation from corruption".

Zoroaster "is presented to us in the Gathas, in un-
 Zoroaster as a mistakably heroic fashion, as a purely
 historical perso- human being on a remote but intelligible
 nage. back-ground, living, striving, failing,
 succeeding, desponding, rejoicing, but all through his experi-
 ences proclaiming himself as the inspired herald of a gospel
 of the Kingdom of God which is profoundly ethical, enforc-
 ing an ideal of 'the good life' for man, which in its main
 outline is as clear as it is deeply impressive" (p. 34). Our
 author adds that "having read the Gathas again and
 again", he "cannot understand how their antiquity and
 authenticity can be doubted". The "intelligible back-
 ground", referred to by our author, which is well pointed
 out by Dr. Geldner in his article on Zoroaster,² is seen
 very clearly in the well-known prayer "Kem nā Mazdā",
 recited daily by the Parsis—a prayer made up from several
 sections of the Gathas and the Vendidad.³

1 These words are well nigh the same as those of the Visparad given above. 2 Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Edition, Vol. 24.

3 Ys. 45, s. 7; Ys. 44, s. 16; Vend. 8, s. 21; Yt. 49, s. 10.

Germes of Zoroaster's Dualism, arising from the position of his country. His Fight against Evil.

No writer, speaking on the religious system of Zoroaster, can ignore the subject of the so-called Dualism. How did the idea of that Dualism germinate in the prophet's mind? Our author refers to this point. A man is said to be, at times, a child of circumstances. I had the pleasure of travelling, in 1925, in Azarbaizan, the very country of the prophet, the country of Urumiah. I had, in that tour, the further pleasure of discovering and determining, the village of Amui or Amvi there, as the birth-place of Zoroaster.¹ I leave it to my *hamkârs*, to my brother co-workers in the line of Zoroastrian studies, to say, how far I am correct in the matter of my discovery. But I am pleased to find that, one of such *hamkârs*, that eminent American Oriental scholar, Professor Jackson, who had travelled carefully in the country of Urumiah in 1903, and who has given us an excellent book on the life of Zoroaster (Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran), has accepted the correctness of that discovery. In his recent publication,² he says:—"It is now interesting to append that I believe that the location of Amui has since been definitely determined by my old friend, Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi." I am further pleased to find that another *hamkâr*, Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, of Bombay, who visited Persia in 1930, and went upto Urumiah, has confirmed my view and said, in two of his public lectures in Bombay, that, from what he saw and heard at Urumiah, he was convinced, that I have correctly discovered the birth-place of Zoroaster.

1 *Vide* my Gujarati Book of Travels (1926) (મારી મુખર્ષ બહારની સેફેશ), p. 304. Letter No. 64.

2 "Zoroastrian Studies", p. 276; Postscript, dated June 25th, 1926.

Now, from what I have seen and read of the country of Azarbaizan, I beg to say that it may be very properly said of Zoroaster, that he was "the child of the circumstances" of his time and place. Azarbaizan is one of the fertile regions of Iran. It was subject to frequent invasions and annoyances from the Turanians. One may say that it was so from very early times. It was so before Zoroaster: it was so in the time of Zoroaster, and it continued to be so, even upto the last century of the Sassanian rulers. These Turanians were the Hunus of the Avesta, the Hunas of the Indian books and inscriptions, the Huns of later writers.¹ It was against these Turanians that an early Emperor of China had to build his "Great Wall of China"² and it was against them that the Sassanian King Naushirvan (Chosroes I) had to build his wall near Derband on the Caspian.³ Now Zoroaster's pastoral and agricultural people of Azarbaizan were now and then attacked by these Turanian nomad free-booters.⁴ So, it is quite probable, as suggested by our author, that in Zoroaster's mind "all that is good is

1 On the subject of these Huns, *vide* my papers (a) "The Hûnas in the Avesta and Pahlavi" (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 65-80). (b) "The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia" (Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 24, pp. 530-595. My "Asiatic Papers", Part II pp. 293-349). (c) "The Religion of the Huns, who invaded India and Persia" (The Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference at Madras, pp. 655-682. *Vide* my "Oriental Conference Papers", pp. 165-204) and (d) "The Indian Hunnic King Toramana and the Khushnawaz of the Persians" (*Ibid.*, pp. 205-227).

2 *Vide* my paper "A Visit to the Great Wall of China. A similar Wall of King Naushirvan of Persia". Journal B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXVI, p. 265-84 (1923). *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers", Part III, pp. 194-213. 3 For an account of my visit to Naushirwan's

Wall, *vide* my Gujarati Book of Travels "દેશ-સ. શાહ નાશીરવાનની કોકેસસ પહાડ અને કેસ્પીયન સમુદ્ર વચ્ચેની ઈલાક", *op. cit.* pp. 276-278. Letter No. 59. 4 *Vide* Yasna XII for a reference to these inroads.

identified with the quiet pastoral life", which quiet life is represented by "the soul of the kine" whose "wail" against the nomad Turanian free-booters reaches heaven. "This struggle of the pastoral peace-lovers against the violent and aggressive nomads becomes in Zarathushtra's imagination, the world-wide struggle of good against evil" (p. 35). We find his "divine commission", as "champion of the good cause", vividly pictured in the Yasna (Ys. 29). In compliance with the request of the kine, to have among them, one who can take care of them, Zarathushtra is commissioned by God to help them. He accepts the commission, and, on one hand, prays to God for help, and, on another, exhorts his people to hear him patiently and follow his teachings for their good. He prays to God, both for physical comforts and mental enlightenment. The riches, that he prays for, for some physical comforts, is a gift of 10 mares with calves and a camel (dasâ aspâo arshnavaitish ushtremchâ, Ys. 44, s. 18). He desires to have this gift in order to offer it to God himself (Yathâ hi taêfbyô dâonghha, *ibid.*). I think that, what seems to have been meant is, that, with this gift at his disposal, he may be not only at peace of mind for his own maintenance, but may be in a position to help the poor.

II

Zoroaster's Inheritance of Religious and Ethical Ideas from olden Times.

To have a clear conception of Zoroaster's religious and ethical system, one must understand clearly the following:—

- (1) The back-ground on which the prophet had to rest, i.e., the religious and ethical ideas which then already existed (in the Mazdayasnân religion in which he was born).
- (2) His teachings.
- (3) The result of his teachings in his country.

Our author speaks of these three.

Almost all prophets are, more or less, reformers, but Zoroaster as a Reformer. Zoroaster was pre-eminently so. He had preceding him a number of reformers,

who are spoken of as Saoshyants (𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀), i.e., those who brought benefit (to the community). They were Gayomard, Hoshang, Tehmuras, Haoma, Jamshed, Faredun, Kaus, Kaikhusru. The religion of these early times is spoken of, in later times, as "paairyô tkaêshi", i.e., "of the ancients". In spite of excrescences, that now and then crept in, in spite of occasional degenerations, the religion was Mazdayasni, i.e., the religion, worshipping one God.

The traditional back-ground of the existing beliefs of

The Elements of the Traditional Back-ground of Zoroaster's Religion.

Zoroaster's time was that of reverence for grand objects of Nature, as we see in the old religion of the Vedas in India. I may add, that one sees a similar creed in the ancient Germans¹ also. In fact, "From Nature to Nature's God" was a general characteristic of the religions of all the branches of the Aryan stock. In this traditional back-ground, the following elements, says our author, were prominent:—

(a) Ahura Mazda, Zoroaster's Supreme God, was ancient. He had his parallel in the Indian Varuna.

(b) Mithra was an old god, whom Zoroaster rejected. He stepped in again after Zoroaster. I think we have no clear evidence of Zoroaster's rejecting him. One may say, that Zoroaster may have found no reason, to refer to him

1 Vide my paper on "The Ancient Germans. Their History, Religion, Manners and Customs" (Jour. of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, pp. 636-84. My "Anthropological Papers," Part II, pp. 225-301. •Vide my paper on "Goethe's Parsinameh" or Buch des Parsen, i.e., the Book of the Parsis (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIV, pp. 65-95. My "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 119-48.)

in his Gathas. But that does not show that he rejected him. It seems that, some scholars are carried away, by what is known of later Mithraic beliefs and rites, that latterly prevailed in the West. If one carefully looks into the picture of Mithra, as given in the Meher Yasht, he sees a high moral tone and very little for which one's feelings may be hurt.

(c) The belief in the Ameshaspentas existed before Zoroaster's time. Zoroaster gave them a proper place in his system as "divine attributes".

(d) The idea of the Daevas as minor gods existed in pre-Zoroastrian times. Zoroaster made them "evil spirits" in his system.

(e) There existed the cult of the plant Haoma, which, our author believes, was an intoxicant, and so, Zoroaster rejected it. Here also, I think, scholars are carried away, as in the case of Mithra, by what they know of the corresponding Saoma plant in the Indian books. (a) I will say here also; as in the case of the Meher Yasht, that there is nothing in the Haoma Yasht, which points to intoxication. (b) Zoroaster himself was the result of his father's prayer and performance of the Haoma ceremony. So, he cannot be the result or the fruit of anything relating to an intoxicating drug. (c) Again, the Parsis still use Haoma twigs in the Haoma ceremony, which are not at all, intoxicant. I beg to draw the attention of my readers to my paper on "The Haoma in the Avesta", read before the 8th Oriental Conference at Stockholm.¹ I give therein extracts from the letter² of Dr. Aitchinson, who attended, as a Naturalist, the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1885. I had sent him a few Haoma twigs still used by the Parsis in their Haoma

¹ Vide Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 203-221. Vide my "Anthropological Papers", Part I, pp. 25-243. ² Vide p. 229 for the letter itself.

ceremony. I was led to do so because the late Prof. Max Muller had made some inquiries from him in the matter of the Indian Soma. Dr. Aitchinson said to me in reply, that Haoma was still used by the Afghan frontier tribes as a household medicine. They use it as a decoction. I beg to draw the attention of my readers, in the matter of my view of the use of Haoma among the ancient Iranians, to my paper on "The Tea Cult of the Japanese".¹

Some German scholars, seem to have taken a rather prejudicial view of Haoma. They have taken it that, in all matters, on all fours, the Iranian Haoma is the same as the Indian Soma, described in Indian books, where also, I think, there is much of poetic outburst. I remember, that, it was a prejudice of that kind about the Iranian Haoma, that led some German scholars to say to me in a friendly way, holding glasses of beer in their hands at an entertainment after one of the Congress Sessions at Stockholm: "Mr. Modi, here is your Haoma?" I remember well that, when at the close of my above paper, a German scholar spoke rather irreverently of the use of Haoma by the ancient Iranians, the late Prof. Leitner entered a mild caveat against such a treatment of the subject.

(f) The belief in "the idea of the world as a mixed result of the activity of the good and bad spirits," existed before Zoroaster's time. I think, that it may be taken, though to a small extent, as a common Aryan belief. But Zoroaster emphasized it from a strong moral point of view.

(g) The veneration for the Sacred Fire existed before Zoroaster's time. In fact, Fire-reverence and Sun-reverence were world-wide. But, Zoroaster elevated the spirit of reverence to Fire.

¹ "The Tea Cult of the Japanese" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, No. 6, pp. 671-686 *Vide my* "Anthropological Papers," Part III, pp. 233-248).

(A) The belief in the Fravashis. It is true, that, as our author says, Zoroaster "took no account" of it. But from his complete silence, one cannot say, that Zoroaster rejected it. I think that the belief about the Fravashis, in one of its aspects—the Fravashis of the Living—is very properly compared with that of the "Ideas" in Plato. The extension of that idea to the spirits of the dead, may, to some extent, be strictly Zoroastrian. But, if the belief is properly understood, there is nothing unnatural or repulsive in the belief. Of course, in all ages, and among all people, excrescences creep in, but keeping them out in the case of the Fravashis, there is nothing in their account, as found in the Farvardin Yasht, which can justify a complete rejection. For my views about the Fravashis, I will refer my readers to my work "The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" (pp. 408-24).

I think that, in the matter of these old beliefs, our author takes a very proper view of the attitude of Zoroaster, when he says:—

The Attitude of Zoroaster in his work of Reform "The religion of his tribal tradition... ..Zoroaster does not appear directly to have combated, except where it was associated with vicebut concentrating his attention on certain elements in it, he converted it in his own mind and teaching in what was practically an ethical monotheism, claiming the co-operation of all loyal men in the purpose of the good God: and so went out on a purely prophetic mission, to inaugurate a reformation, which was fundamental indeed, but which he strove to make effectual rather by offering and deepening the better elements in the tradition which the inner light showed him to be alone the truth (p. 39). Agreeing with Meyer, Dr. Gore calls Zoroaster "a completely independent thinker," "one of the very few real founders of religions," "one of the most important figures in religious history" (p. 40), but he seems to dislike his method of leaving

"the unworthy elements in the traditional religion to die of themselves" (p. 39-40). I think, that, this, instead of being a defect in his method, may be taken as a good characteristic of this most tolerant of tolerant prophets, a prophet, who knows well, that all men are not of the same calibre of mind. All the elements in themselves were not "unworthy"; some may have been allowed to be so, by some depraved understanding. But after all, "The Good Life", which form the watchwords of our author's book, was his final aim.

Speaking of "the two primeval Spirits good and bad,"

Spenta Mainyu,
at times identified
with Ahura
Mazda.

Dr. Gore says:—"Whether the primal good Spirit is to be identified with Ahura Mazdah is not clear" (pp. 41-42). I think that, it is somewhat clear, in the

spirit, if not in the letter, in several parts of the Avesta. The word Ahura Mazda came to be applied to the Good Spirit to Spenta Mainyu. In the Vendidad (chap. I), where Ahura Mazda is placed in direct opposition to the Angre Mainyu, to the Evil Spirit, we have to take Ahura Mazda as the Good Spirit, as the Spenta Mainyu. When we take that view, when we understand the word Ahura Mazda in the sense of the Good Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, much of the misunderstanding about the so-called Dualism disappears; and our author's conclusion is quite correct that: "Practically, however, Zarathushtra treats Mazdah as the only Creator and supreme God; thus the ultimate controlling will in the universe is only good" (p. 42). "Zoroaster is to all intents and purposes a monotheist" (p. 43).

Speaking of the Amesha Spentas, our author agrees with

many a scholar and says:—"We need
Amesha Spentas.

not hesitate to think of these holy beings as in the religion of Zarathushtra no more than personified attributes of Mazdah and of his

activities among men" (p. 44). In this conception of the Amesha Spentas, Zoroaster was "thoroughly original". They were, as said by Moulton, "the most distinctive features of Zarathushtra's own thought" (p. 44).

As to "Zarathushtra's conception of mankind", his "being endowed with reason and freedom of will", Dr. Gore very properly says:—"Man has the making of his own heaven or his own hell" (p. 45). I think that the beautiful small prayer of "Vispa Humata, vispa Hukhta, vispa Hvarshta" which a good Zoroastrian has to recite daily three times in the morning, fully illustrates this view, when it says that "a man's good thoughts, good words and good deeds lead him to Heaven: his bad thoughts, bad words and bad deeds lead him to Hell". You require no saviour, no intercessor. You are yourself your own saviour. Your own good thoughts, good words and good deeds are your saviours, your intercessors. Dr. Gore says:—"Zarathushtra is never carried away by imagery from a strictly rational and spiritual conception of heaven and hell as the region of 'the best thought' and 'the worst thought'" (p. 48). I would rather say "the best life" and "the 'worst life'". Words and actions must go with thoughts, and all the three make up a life or a state of life. The later Iranian word for Heaven is "Behesht". It is a later form of the Avesta word "vahishta" meaning the 'best'. The Iranian word for Heaven, viz., 'behesht', is, as it were, nothing more or less philologically and significantly, than the English word "best". Try to be *good* to-day. Try to be *behtar* (English better) to-morrow. Try to be *behesht* (English best) the day after. Thus, you advance towards Heaven. These are your steps to go to Heaven. Be good, better (*behtar*) and best (*behesht*), step by step, in your thoughts, words and actions, and you rise to Heaven, you are heaved up to Heaven.

Zoroaster's Conception of Mankind in relation to Heaven and Hell.

Speaking of Zoroaster's "high ideal of marriage" our author briefly discusses whether his religion may be called "aristocratic", as said by Moulton, because he takes "for granted the authority of the ruling family", or "the religion of the poor". He himself seems to take it to be the latter. In these modern times, when "socialism" is on the lips of the world, one may say that when one takes all the teachings of Zoroastrianism into his mind, he finds that modern socialism has no ground to stand upon in the old Iranian religion, inasmuch as it was, and is, the religion, not for the few rich only, but for the many poor in general.

There have been some futile attempts, now and then, to say that Zoroastrianism was indebted to the Jewish faith. Dr. Gore thus writes against this view: "Clearly it is not possible to suggest that this lofty religion—however closely resembling the Jewish faith—could have been borrowed from the Jews: its date renders that impossible.... Nor is there any other alien source to which it can be attributed. It remains in its lofty severity a momentous creation, if it be not wiser to call it, as Zoroaster himself would have called it, a signal inspiration by the divine Spirit of an individual prophet. It exhibits at a very early stage in the history of mankind a clear conception of the Good Life for Man. It is puritanical, that is, it has no flavouring of art and gives but few signs of accommodation to ordinary human desires for relaxation and enjoyment; but it is in the highest degree lofty and inspiring, and, full as it is of the sense of pity for the oppressed and miserable, it can rightly call itself a gospel; further, it is conspicuous for the simplicity and decision with which (on the basis of a highly ambiguous tradition).

It exhibits in the boldest outline the theology by which this good life is controlled and justified, and the eschatology by which it is supported. The longer one thinks about Zarathushtra's religion and allows it to absorb one's mind, the more central, the more illuminating, the more divine, it appears. But in fact, if it was truly a light shining in a dark place, it shone in its purity but for a very little while and in a very restricted area" (p. 52).

Our author enters in a brief dissertation, to say, that there was "a rapid recovery in the generations after Zarathushtra of the older tradition of religion" (pp. 53-54).

Fall in pristine
Purity.

Well, such a thing is said to have occurred in the case of all known religions. The pristine purity is more or less obscured, but it is an injustice to the prophets, if one says, that it was lost. Let us speak here of Zoroaster's religion. The old traditional Mazdayasnān religion of Iran, which took the thoughts of Man, from Nature to Nature's God, was still there. Zoroaster, looking to the grand objects of Nature, to the grand phenomena of Nature, the rising and the setting of the Sun and the Moon, the flowing of rivers and growing of trees (Ys. 44), pointed to God's Omnipotence, Omnipresence, and Omniscience, and thus, dwelling on the physical side of Nature, dwelt upon, and emphasized, the moral side. To borrow the words of our author, "Good Life" "Good Life" and "Good Life" was his principal errand from God as a prophet. He reformed, what was deformed, but the form was there. "From Nature to Nature's God" was the original traditional form, which was universally accepted by Aryan belief, the belief of the ancient Indians, Germans and of the people of other branches of the Aryan stock. In the case of Iran, whenever, in that belief, there were attempts on the part of the followers of its faith to give a higher place to Nature, to the

grand objects of Nature, than what was its due, when there were attempts, unintentional of course, whereby the Omnipotence, Omnipresence or Omniscience of the Great God, of Ahura Mazda, looked likely to be lightened, lessened, or obscured, there appeared on the stage a great Saoshyant who set things aright, who reformed the deformities. Zarathushtra was the last—and the most successful—of the Saoshyants who stamped his personality or the powerful individuality of his teachings on the Iran of his age. His stamp was more or less a permanent stamp. The pristine purity of the stamp of his teachings was, of course, obscured after him but the substratum was perfect. The Iranians after him did appeal at times to the Powers other than that of Ahura Mazda, to the Ameshaspentas and the Yazatas but Ahura Mazda was always at the head. European and American scholars look to the Yashts and the Nyaishes of the Parsis in, what may be called, their *naked* form. The texts of these *Yashts* and *Nyaishes* in honour of Zoroaster must be looked at in, what we may call, their *clothed* form. The formula, "Ahurêṃ. Mazdām raêvantem kharêṇaghuhantem yazamaide," stands at the recital of all the Afringans in honour of the Yazatas. Looking to the invocation of saints, who are after all deified great personages, in other religions, one may not, I think, find fault with invocations addressed to higher Powers, which after all are next to Ahura Mazda.

However, the fact, of course, is, that, some time after Zoroaster, I think, long after Zoroaster and not after "a very little while" (p. 52), as said by our learned author, there was some decline in pristine purity. Our author very properly says:—"For present-day Parseeism (*i.e.*, the Zoroastrianism which survives almost only in Bombay)," I may add in India and Persia, "an outside observer would say that nothing is more to be desired than a movement 'Back to Zoroaster'" (p. 55). I, as an "inside

observer", and, I think, many more with me, will add to the above statement of Dr. Gore in the Parsi words, "Atha Jamyât Yatha âfrinâmê" (i.e., Amen. May it be so as I desire).

Our author thus finishes his observations on the Gathas:

The Significance
of Zoroaster's
teaching.

"The teaching of Zarathushtra, as presented in the Gathas when it is considered as a whole, and its early date taken into account, is of even startling significance. According to it, the life of man, in spite of all the evils, which imperil and beset it, in spite of the enormous abuses of life which prevail, is a good thing, of eternal and immeasurable worth. The responsibility of saving one's soul or realizing one's being is the supreme responsibility of men and women, as free and rational beings" (p. 55).

Dr. Gore very properly says with respect to the question of fellowship of God as viewed in Zoroastrianism: "There is no way of fellowship with God by charms or sacrifices, but only by the way of likeness to God". The last words "by the way of likeness to God" are very significant. In the marriage benediction (the Âshirwâd), one of the benedictions of the officiating priest is "Kerdâr bed chûn Ahura Mazda Khodâe pa dâman-i khish", i.e.,

Fellowship with
God.

"Be a doer of good deeds like Ahura Mazda God in His creation." Another benediction, though not exactly similar, is "Kam anjâm bed chun Ahura Mazda Khodâe pa dâman-i khish", i.e., May your desires be fulfilled like those of Ahura Mazda in His creation. This view of "the likeness to God" reminds us of that little story attributed to Julian (331-363), commonly known as Julian the Apostate.¹

¹ He was given the title of Caesar and he ruled over the Roman Empire for about 20 months (361-363). He is said to have written a History of the Caesars, "a satirical composition, in which the

He made the souls of some departed great men pass before a judge. The judge asked: "What was your aim in life?" The souls of Alexander the Great, Marcus Aurelius the Roman Emperor, and others passed, and, when questioned, gave their replies. Alexander said that the conquest of the whole world was the aim of his life. Trojan gave a similar reply. Julius Caesar said: To get the highest post in the state was his aim in life. Augustus Caesar said that the aim of his life was to rule well. It was the reply of Marcus Aurelius, which pleased the presiding deity best. He said that his object in life was "*to be like God*". The "fellowship of God", spoken of by Dr. Gore, is beautifully referred to in the last part of the Hoshbām prayer enjoined to be recited thrice at dawn—"Asha vahishta Asha sraeshta, daresāma thwā, pairi thwā jam-yāma, hamem thwā hakhma", *i.e.*, O Ahura Mazda! grant that, we may see Thee, we may approach Thee, we may come into Thy friendliness through Asha (Righteousness) which is the best which is the most excellent.

Dr. Gore concludes his chapter on Zoroaster, saying "Zoroastrianism is, at starting, a universal religion for man as man." He thinks that it "ultimately narrowed into an intensely national form in the Persian religion and Parseeism. But both are alike in making the essence of the good life for man to be correspondence with the purpose and character of God" (pp. 56-57).

Dr. Gore's book is very interesting and instructive and his chapter on Zoroaster, of which I have given a brief outline with my observations, presents a suggestive and instructive view, of one of the best modern scholars of religion, on the subject of Zoroastrianism.

dead Caesars appear at a banquet prepared in the heavens and have to endure the caustic wit of old Silenas." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 13, p. 769.)

THE ANNALS OF ḤAMZAH AL-ISFAHĀNĪ.

TRANSLATED FROM ARABIC

BY

DR. U. M. DAUDPOTA, M.A., PH.D.

[It was my study for my paper entitled "The Mobadān Mobad (أُمید بن اشوست) Omīd bin Ashavast, referred to by Hamzā Isphahānī. Who was he?" contributed to the Dr. Geiger Memorial Volume (*Studia Indo-Iranica* / *Ehrengabe Für Wilhelm Geiger*) that led me to suggest to the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute that Hamzah Isfahani's Chapter on the Ancient History of Persia may be got translated by an Arabic scholar. After some consultations, the work was entrusted to the efficient hands of Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Arabic in the Ismail College at Andheri. The Institute is thankful to Dr. U. M. Daudpota for this translation to which he has voluntarily prefixed an introduction appreciating the value of the chapter, and also appended a translation of another important chapter containing the dates of the Persian Nauruz according to the Muslim Era.—EDITOR.]

INTRODUCTION.

HAMZAH B. HASAN AL-ISFAHANI.

ob. 350 A.H. (?)

An account of the life, works and literary activity of Hamzah is given in

Ibn Nadīm: *Al-Fihrist*, p. 139 (Flügel's edition);

Goldziher: *Muhammadanische Studien*, Vol. I, pp. 209-213;

Brockelmann: *Geschichte der Arabische Literatur*, Vol. I, p. 145;

Mittwoch: His article on Hamzah in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 256;

Huart: *Arabic Literature*, pp. 183-184;

Jurji Zaidān: *Ta'rikhu 'Adābi'l-Lughati'l-'Arabiyah*, Vol. II, p. 315.

To these and Professor Mittwoch's other writings mentioned in the bibliography of his article on Hamzah in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the reader is referred for fuller information. We are here concerned only with Chap. I of his *Annals*, which early made him known in Europe almost exclusively as a historian, although the majority of his works deal with the questions of philology and lexicography. He was a keen Persophile, and it was his ruling passion to re-establish the correct spellings of the Iranian names, which on account of a long lapse of time had become completely altered or arabicised, as will be seen in the chapter translated below. He delighted in discussing Persian words that have found their way into Arabic and Pahlawī etymologies, but this predilection of his sometimes landed him into inaccurate statements about the names which are really Arabic by

origin. Although he may not have taken an active part in the Shu'ūbiyyah linguistic movement, "the philological reaction against Arabic influence", as asserted by Professor Mittwoch in face of Goldziher's statement, yet in his writings he pays special attention to Persian affairs; for instance, in his *Annals* he devotes one complete chapter to the determination of the great Zoroastrian festival, Naurūz, and brings the calculations right upto the year of his death. Probably more light will be thrown on his Persophile and Shu'ūbite tendencies by perusal of such of his works as "*Kitābu'l-Khaṣā'iṣ wa'l-Muwāzanatu bayna'l-'Arabiyyah wa'l-fārsiyyah*" which exists in a manuscript of 100 pages in the Khedivial Library, Cairo. Being himself a Persian by birth, he was fired with the zeal to recover as much history of ancient Persia as lay within his reach. He was in direct touch with Zoroastrian priests and through them and other Iranian sources he gleaned much information, which, but for him, might have perished without recall.

The chapter under discussion is very important, inasmuch as all the later writers have made it the basis of their writings on ancient Persian history. It is from this chapter, mainly, that the learned al-Bīrūnī got the tables of the Persian monarchs given in his "*Chronology of Ancient Nations*"¹. I should have placed the table of various dynasties side by side in charts for the sake of comparison and for showing how divergent the years of the reign of each monarch are, but this has already been done by the learned al-Bīrūnī and his able translator, the late Professor Sachau. Nevertheless I am giving below the total number of years of each

1 In this Introduction as well as in the references in the following translation of Chap. I from Hamzah's *Annals*, the pages are given according to the English translation of al-Bīrūnī's book by Sachau.

dynasty according to the tables given in sections I and III of Hamzah's Annals:—

Names of dynasties	The period of rule of each dynasty according to section I.	The period rule of each dynasty according to section III.
Pishdādian ...	2470 years ¹	2734 years ⁵
Kayānian ...	778 " ²	718 " ⁶
Ashghānian...	344 " ³	501 " ⁶
Sāsānian ...	449 years, 10 months and 16 days ³ .	456 years, 3 months 21 days ⁷
Total	4039-10-16 ⁴	4409-11-21 ⁸

Thus the age of the world, ever since its creation upto the extinction of the Persian Empire, is variously recorded. The remaining tables obtained by al-Bīrūnī from other sources are equally unreliable. In the same way the years of each dynasty, given in the different tables, do not agree with one another. The only dynasty whose duration could be determined with some amount of certainty is that of the Sāsānians.

• According to Hamzah, the Sāsānian period extends over nearly 429 years, which is nearer the truth than the

1 Al-Bīrūnī: 2370 years, p. 113, for al-Bīrūnī assigns only 616 to Jamshīd instead of 716, as in Hamzah.

2 Including 14 years of Alexander; al-Bīrūnī throughout puts Alexander at the head of the Ashghānians.

3 Hamzah's total is 429 years, 3 months, 18 days.

4 Hamzah's total is 4071 years, 10 months, 19 days.

5 Al-Bīrūnī: 2684 years; for he assigns only 616 years to Jamshīd.

6 Including 14 years of Alexander and 54 years of his successors.

7 Hamzah's total is 465 years, 1 month, 22 days.

8 Hamzah's total is 4409 years, 9 months, 22 days.

years derived from the other tables. The correct number of years is, however, given by al-Birūnī, who basing his arguments upon the inviolable authority of Mānī's book "Shābūrkan," affirms that Ardashīr consolidated his power in 537 A.Alex.¹, and that this dynasty, upto the year of accession of Yazdijird b. Shahryār, which took place in 943 A.Alex., ruled for 406 years. Incidentally we find out that the entire period covered by the Ashkānians, Alexander and his successors, is 537 years, and not 344 years as determined by Ḥamzah from his study of the Avesta, or 515 years as supplied to him by the Maubadh, Bahrām. We are aware that Ardashīr established himself in 226 A.D., and that Yazdijird, the last king of the Sāsānian dynasty, died in 31 A.H.=652 A.D., after a reign of 20 years. This gives us in all 426 years which exactly tally with the computation of al-Birūnī.

I may now advert to a more interesting piece of information which we owe to Ḥamzah. In section IV, while giving a brief account of each Sāsānian monarch, he mentions a book (Kitābu Ṣuwari Banī Sāsān) containing the portraits of the Sāsānian kings. This appears to be the same book which Mas'ūdī saw in the city of Iṣṭakhr in 303 A.H.². Mas'ūdī says that this book was redacted according to the documents found in the archives of the Kings of Persia and was completed in the middle of Jumadā II of the year 113 A.H. It was translated for Hishām b. 'Abdī'l-Malik b. Marwān from Persian into Arabic. Unfortunately Ḥamzah does not supply us all the details of the portraits and their lineaments, from an artist's point of view, otherwise a master hand might give them a fresh life and lustre.

1 Al-Birūnī, p. 121. A. Alex. denotes Alexandrian Era.

2 Kitābu't-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf, p. 250; also cited by Mr. Nariman in his book "Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature," p. 183-184.

THE ANNALS OF HAMZAH AL-ISFAHANI.

CHAPTER I.¹

A CHRONOLOGY OF PERSIAN KINGS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THEIR FOUR DYNASTIES, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROPHETS THAT APPEARED IN THEIR DAYS FROM THE WEST.

SECTION I.

A cursory description of the four Persian Dynasties, without their history, annals and notices.

Persian kings, inspite of the long period of their sovereignty and the long spell of their power, are divided into four dynasties, viz., the Pishdādī, the Kayānī, the Ashghānī, and the Sīsānī. Their history is faulty and incorrect; for it has been translated after 150 years from one language into another, and from a script in which the units' digits are of a similar form into another script in which the tens' digits are of a similar form. Therefore in narrating all that pertains to this chapter, I was compelled to consult different manuscripts of books. I collected in all 8 manuscripts,² viz. .

1. Kitābu Siyari Mulūki'l-Furs, translated by Ibnu'l- Muqaffa'³ ;
2. Kitābu Siyari Mulūki'l-Furs, translated by Muḥammad b. Al-Jahm al-Barmakī⁴ ;
3. Kitābu Ta'rikhi Mulūki'l-Furs, taken from the archives of al-Ma'mūn;
4. Kitābu Siyari Mulūki'l-Furs, translated by Zādawayh b. Shāhawayh al-Isfahānī⁴ ;

1 This translation is based upon the Arabic Text of the Annals, ed. Gottwaldt, Lipsia, 1844-48.

2 The author gives the names of 7 manuscripts only.

3 Fihrist, p. 118, where the name of the book is given as Kitābu Khudāy-Nāmah Fi's-Siyar.

4 Ibid., p. 245, where this author is mentioned as a translator from Persian into Arabic.

5. Kitābu Siyari Mulūki'l-Furs, translated or compiled by Muḥammad b. Bahrām b. Miṭyār al-Isfahānī¹;
6. Kitābu Ta'rikhi Mulūki Banī Sāsān, translated or compiled by Hishām b. Qāsim al-Isfahānī¹; and
7. Kitābu Ta'rikh Mulūki Banī Sāsān, redacted by Bahrām b. Mardānshāh, Mobad of the district of Shāpūr, a town situated in Fārs.¹

After obtaining these books, I compared them with one another, and derived from them the contents of this chapter.

Abū Ma'shar al-Munajjim (the astronomer)² says: "Most of the historical dates are confused and corrupt, and this kind of corruption finds its way in the history of a nation, only when a long time has elapsed over it. So when it is copied from one book into another, or translated from one language into another, discrepancy creeps in, either on the side of excess or defect. The same thing happened in the case of the Jewish people who hold divergent views with regard to the number of years that passed between Adam and Noah and the other prophets, with the result that other historians also differ from them in this matter. Similar is the case with the dates and history of the kings of Persia; for in spite of the uninterrupted continuity of their rule ever since the beginning of the world upto the extinction of their empire, there has appeared in their dates plenty of confusion and manifest error. This is because there have been several gaps in their history, during which the land remained without a king, either

1 The names of Zādawayh, Muḥammad, Hishām and Bahrām are mentioned among the translators of Persian into Arabic, *Vide* Fihrist, p. 245.

2 Fihrist, p. 277.

from among themselves or from any other nationality. Thus, according to them, the land remained without a king for 170 years after the death of Kayūmarth, the progenitor of mankind, until it was conquered by Ūshhang, the Pishdādian. The second time, after the return of Afrāsiyāb, the Turk, to Tūrān for the second time, after he had occupied the land of Persia for twelve years, during which the Aryān land was without a king for a number of years (one cannot say for how many?). The third time, when Zāb died and the world was thrown into a chaos for an indefinite number of years, without any king to rule over it, until Kay Qubād got possession of it. It is also mentioned that from the beginning of the world until their empire passed into the hands of the Arabs, the Persians were several times governed by alien races, wherefore the dates of their ancient kings are so conflicting. The first time in the days of Fiyūrasb; the second time in the days of Afrāsiyāb; the third time in the days of Alexander; and the fourth time when their empire finally passed into the hands of the Arabs."

Abū Ma'shar further says: "The Persians are also disagreed with regard to the ages of their kings. For instance, some suppose that Kay Qubād ruled the earth for 120 years, while others assert that he ruled only a little over ten years." Abū Ma'shar remarks that in this respect the chronology of the Greeks is as dubious as that of the Persians. This is because their ancient chronology and history were taken from Hebrew, and it is well known that the Hebrew script is variable, the one in vogue with the Samaritans differing from the one commonly used by the Jews. Hence the Greek versions are different because the version of the Seventy¹ does not agree with that of the others." Abū Ma'shar further states that in the same way there is a lot of variance in the

1 For the "Thora of the Seventy", see al-Birūnī, p. 24 of Sachau's translation.

number of years from the day of Creation upto the year of the Migration (Hegira). The Jews, relying upon the authority of the Torah (Pentateuch), consider the age of the world to be 4042 years and 3 months; while the Christians relying upon the same source consider it to be 5990 years and 3 months. The Persians, on the other hand, derive it from their religious book, Avesta, which was revealed to Zoroaster, and say that from the time of Kayūmarth, the Progenitor of Mankind upto the year of Yazdijird's accession, there have elapsed in all 4182 years, 10 months and 19 days. At the same time, the astronomers consider all this unsound, and affirm that the life of the world, ever since the day the planets first marched from the head of Aries to the day on which al-Mutawakkil started for Damascus (1st Muḥarram 244 A.H.) is 12,320,000,000 solar 'years'¹; and the time that passed between the Deluge and the morning of the day of the accession of Yazdijird b. Shahryār, which took place on Tuesday (Hurmuzd) in the month of Farwardin (which was the same day and month on which al-Mutawakkil started for Damascus) is 3735 years, 10 months and 20 days. This is the life of the world and from it dates the history of Persian kings. All Persians suppose that mankind originated from Kayūmarth, called Gilshāh (King of Clay), who lived for forty years on the earth.

The First Dynasty of the Pishdādians.

There were nine rulers of this dynasty, and the period of their rule, including the years of Gilshāh,

1 The Latin translation gives $(4000 \times 300 \times 20)$ millions, according to the interpretation given to me by my friend Prof. Afonso of Ismail College, who, too, not understanding the real meaning, had to consult some Fathers at St. Xavier's. Still the computation is doubtful.

extended to 2470 years :

1. Kayūmarth	...	...	40 years,
2. Ṭahmūrath b. Nau-bi-Jahān	...	...	30 "
3. Jam (brother of Ṭahmūrath) b. Naubijahān	...	...	716 ¹ "
4. Biyūrāsp b. Arwandāsb...	...	...	1000 "
5. Afridūn b. Athfiyān	...	...	500 "
6. Minūchihr	...	...	120 "
7. Afrāsiyāb, the Turk	...	...	12 "
8. Zāb b. Sumāsb	...	...	3 "
9. Garshāsf together with Zāb	...	...	9 "

and God knows how far this is correct.

The Second Dynasty of the Kayānians.

They were 10 in all and they reigned for 778 years :

1. Kay Qubād	...	...	126 years,
2. Kay Kā'ūs	...	...	150 "
3. Kay Khusraw	...	...	80 "
4. Kay Luhrāsb	...	...	120 "
5. Kay Gushtāsb	...	...	120 "
6. Kay Bahman	...	...	112 "
7. Humā Chihrazād	...	...	30 "
8. Dārā (Humā's brother) b. Bahman	...	...	12 "
9. Dārā b. Dārā	...	...	14 "
10. Alexander	...	...	14 "

The Third Dynasty of the Ashghānians.

There were 11 monarchs, and their rule lasted for 844 years :

1. Ashk b. Ashk	...	...	52 years,
2. Shāpūr b. Ashk	...	...	24 "

¹ Al-Bīrūnī gives 616. *Vide* The Chronology of Ancient Nations, p. 113.

3.	Gūdarz b. Shāpūr	...	...	50	years,
4.	Wanḥan (nephew of Gūdarz) b.				
	Balāsh b. Shāpūr	...	...	21	"
5.	Gūdarz, the Younger, b. Wanḥan	...	...	19	;
6.	Narsī b. Wanḥan	...	...	30	"
7.	Hurmuzān (Narsī's uncle) b. Balāsh				
	b. Shāpūr	...	...	17	"
8.	Fayrūzān b. Hurmuzān	...	...	12	"
9.	Khusraw b. Fayrūzān	...	...	40	"
10.	Balāsh (Khusraw's brother) b.				
	Fayrūzān	...	...	24	"
11.	Ardwān b. Balāsh b. Fayrūzān	...	...	55	"

The Fourth Dynasty of the Sāsānians.

There were 28 of them and their rule lasted for 429 years, 3 months, and 18 days¹:

1.	Ardashīr b. Bābak	...	14 years, 6 months,
2.	Shāpūr b. Ardashīr	...	30 years and 28
			days,
3.	Hurmuz b. Shāpūr	...	1 year, 10 months,
4.	Bahrām b. Hurmuz	...	3 years, 3 months,
			3 days.
5.	Bahrām b. Bahrām	...	17 years,
6.	Bahrām b. Bahrām b.		
	Bahrām	...	13 years, 4 months, ²
7.	Narsī (Bahrām's brother) b.		
	Bahrām	...	9 years,
8.	Hurmuz b. Narsī	...	7 years, 5 months,
9.	Shāpūr b. Hurmuz	...	72 years,
10.	Ardashīr (Shāpūr's brother)		
	b. Hurmuz	...	4 years,

¹ Actually the total comes to 449 years, 10 months and 16 days.

² Al-Bīrūnī—only 4 months. *Vide* Ch. of A. N., p. 124.

11.	Shāpūr b. Shāpūr	...	5 years, 4 months, ¹
12.	Bahrām b. Shāpūr	...	11 years,
13.	Yazdijird al-Athīm (the Wicked) b. Bahrām	...	21 years, 5 months, 16 days, ²
14.	Bahrām Gūr b. Yazdijird	...	23 years,
15.	Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr	...	18 years, 4 months, 18 days, ³
16.	Fayrūz b. Yazdijird	...	27 years, and one day,
17.	Balāsh b. Fayrūz	...	4 „
18.	Qubād b. Fayruz	...	43 „
19.	Kasrā Anūshirwān b. Qubād	47 „	7 months,
20.	Hurmuz b. Kasrā	...	11 „ 7 „, 10 days,
21.	Kasrā Parwīz b. Hurmuz	...	38 „
22.	Shīrwayh b. Kasrā	...	8 months,
23.	Ardashīr b. Shīrwayh	...	1 „ 6 „
24.	Būrān Dukht, daughter of Kasrā	...	1 „ 4 „
25.	Hushnubandah (not belong- ing to the royal line)	...	2 „
26.	Arzamīdukht, daughter of Parwīz	...	1 „ 4 „
27.	Khurzād Khusraw	...	1 „
28.	Yazdijird Shahryār Parwīz	20 years.	

Thus the entire period covered by all the Persian kings is 4071 years, 10 months and 19 days, spread over 60 monarchs.⁴

¹ According to al-Bīrūnī, 50 years, 4 months (*vide* Ch. of A. N., p. 124), but this is evidently incorrect.

² *Ibid.*, 21 years, 5 months, 8 days.

³ *Ibid.*, 18 years, 4 months, 28 days.

⁴ By total there are 58 Persian monarchs and not 60, and the period of their rule is 4039 years, 10 months and 16 days; one cannot account for the discrepancy of 32 years, and 3 days.

SECTION II

*Repetition of what has already been recorded
in Section I, along with a commentary of
Mūsā b. 'Isā al-Kasrawī in his book.*

He says: "I looked into the book called "Khudāy-Nāmāh," which when translated from Persian into Arabic was known as 'Ta'rikhu Mulūki'l-Furs'. Then I looked into other copies of the same book, and on reading them searchingly I discovered that all of them differed from one another, so that I could not succeed in getting even two copies agreeing in contents. This confusion has been due to the copyists transcribing from one book to another and from one language to another. Then I met with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḥamadīnī, who made astronomical tables for his master al-'Alā b. Aḥmad at Marāghah, and who in this respect was the best informed person I have ever seen, and verified the years of the third and fourth dynasties of Persian kings, which ruled after Alexander, viz., the Ashghānians and the Sāsānians, by means of the Alexandrian era, which is recorded in the astronomical tables according to the calculations of the astronomers. Particularly we wanted to fix the number of years between the Alexandrian era and the Hegira, in order to make them a determining factor. We found that proved in the Observatory table exactly as I am going to mention here. According to the astronomers, the interval between the Alexandrian era and the Hegira, from the noon of Monday, the first of Tishrīn 1 to the noon of Thursday of Muḥarram, comprises 340901 days, which are equal to 961 lunar years and 154 days, which when converted into Chaldean, i.e., solar years (each containing $365\frac{1}{4}$ days) amount to 932 years and 289 days (i.e., 9 months and 19 days).

To these we added the years between the beginning of the Hegira and the end of the Persian empire, (for the last Persian king Yazdijird perished in 40 A.H.¹) and the total period arrived at was 972 years and 289 days. From these we deducted the period of rule of the Ashghānians, *viz.*, 266 years, and the entire period covered by the Sāsānians from the accession of Ardashīr to the death of Yazdijird came to be 786 years² and 289 days.

Now that we have correctly determined the years of rule of the Sīsānians, we wish to give further details about the number of kings, their names, and the years for which each of them reigned, also adding to the list three more names which have not been mentioned by the chroniclers. This error on their part is due to the similarity of certain names, *e.g.*, Yazdijird and Yazdijird, Bahrām and Bahrām. Thus the name of Yazdijird, the father of Yazdijird al-Athīm, and son of Bahrām b. Shāpūr, who was certainly more famous than his son al-Athīm, has been totally ignored and omitted. He was the friend of Sharwīn al-Dastanī, and was a kind and benign administrator, contrary to his son Yazdijird al-Athīm. The following story is told of his fidelity:—

It is said that one of the Byzantine emperors, at the time of his death, charged his minor son to the care of

1 This is evidently a mistake; for Yazdijird was assassinated in 31 A.H.=652 A.D.

2 Actually 706 years, although this calculation, too, is wrong, because 40 lunar years have not been converted into solar years. According to al-Birūnī, the Sāsānian rule upto the succession of Yazdijird b. Shahrīār lasted for 406 years (*vide* p. 121). To this, add 30 years of Yazdijird's reign and we have in all 436 years.

Yazdijird and requested him to send one of his able statesmen to rule the Greek provinces as a regent until his son should come of age. Yazdijird sent Sharwīn Barmiyān, the chief of the province of Dastanī, and appointed him to the Greek provinces, which he administered for twenty years. After that Yazdijird fulfilled his trust by returning the empire to the boy and recalled Sharwīn, who during his regency had built a town there, named Bāshirwān, which is called Bājarwān by the Arabs.

In the same way the chroniclers have omitted two other names on account of their similarity, *viz.*, Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahrām, and Bahrām b. Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr, the father of Fayrūz. I am now going to give the names of all the Sāsānian 'kings in order, so that by the grace of God, the Most Glorious, the defect in the manuscripts may become manifest:—

1. Ardashīr b. Bābak	...	19 years, 6 months, ¹
2. Shāpūr al-Junūd b. Ardashīr	...	32 „ 4 „
3. Hurmuz b. Shāpūr	...	1 „ 10 „
4. Bahrām b. Hurmuz	...	9 „ 3 „
5. Bahrām b. Bahrām	...	23 „ (17 years according to others),
6. Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahram	...	13 years, 4 months,
7. Narsī (Bahrām's brother) b. Bahrām b. Bahrām	...	9 „
8. Hurmuz b. Narsī	...	13 „
9. Shāpūr Dhu'l-Aktāf b. Harmuz	...	72 „
10. Ardashīr b. Hurmuz (until Shāpūr's son became major)	...	4 „

¹ Al-Bīrūnī p. 128, 19 years, 10 months.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 11. Shāpūr b. Shāpūr (who
was crowned while still
in his mother's womb) | 82 years, |
| 12. Bahrām b. Shāpūr b.
Shāpūr ... | 12 " |
| 13. Yazdijird, the Gentle (al-
Layyin) b. Bahrām b.
Shāpūr, the friend of
Sharwīn al-Dastanī ... | 82 " |
| 14. Yazdijird, the Rough (al-
Khashn) b. Yazdijird ... | 22 " ¹ |
| 15. Bahrām Gūr b. Yazdijird | 23 " |
| 16. Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr | 18 " 5 months, |
| 17. Bahrām b. Yazdijird ... | 26 " 1 month, |
| 18. Fayrūz b. Bahrām ... | 29 " 1 day. |
| 19. Balāsh b. Fayrūz ... | 3 " |
| 20. Qubād (Balāsh's brother)
b. Fayrūz ... | 68 " (according to
as-Siyarū'l-Kabīr,
and 43 years accord-
ing to as-Siyarū's
Ṣaghīr). |
| 21. Kasrā Anūshirwīn ... | 47 years, 7 months,
and some days, |
| 22. Hurmuz b. Kasrā ... | 23 years (according to
others, 13 years), |
| 23. Kasrā Parwīz b. Hurmuz. | 38 years, |
| 24. Shīrwayh b. Kasrā ... | 8 months, |
| 25. Ardashīr b. Shīrwayh ... | 1 year, |
| 26. Shahrizād ² (not belonging
to the royal family) ... | 38 days, |

1 Al-Bīrūnī, p. 128. 23 years.

2 Al-Bīrūnī (p. 128) gives Shahrbarāz, which seems to be more correct.

- | | | |
|---|--------|------------------------|
| 27. Bārandukht, daughter of Parwiz (It was she who returned the Cross to the Patriarch) | ... | 1 year and a few days, |
| 28. Hushnubandah (not belonging to the royal family) | ... .. | 2 months, |
| 29. Khusraw b. 'Ād b. Hurmuz b. Anūshirwān | ... | 10 months, |
| 30. Fayrūz (one of the descendants of Ardashīr b. Bābak) | ... | 2 months, |
| 31. Arzamīndukht, daughter of Parwiz | ... .. | 4 months, |
| 32. Farrukh b. Khusraw Parwiz | ... .. | 1 month and some days, |
| 33. Yazdijird b. Shahryār | | 20 years. |

Thus eight monarchs¹ following Kasrā Parwiz ruled for 4 years and 6 months only, and Yazdijird b. Shahryār was the ninth² of them. These are the dates of the Sāsānian kings of Persia, in the investigation of which I have taken the utmost pains, until I have been able to arrange them in this order.

As regards the dates of the Ashghānī kings, who preceded the Sāsānians, I have not troubled myself, being fully aware of the many disturbing events that took place in their days. The reason of this is that when Alexander conquered the land of Babylon and subjugated its people, he envied them for all their sciences, which no other nation possessed. He burnt all the books that fell into his hands, and then killed their

1 Actually nine.

2 Actually the tenth.

mobads, hirbads, learned men and scholars, and all those who preserved their historical sciences, sparing only laymen among them. This he did after he had got all that was necessary of their sciences translated into Greek. For the rest of the rule of the Ashghānids, there were tribal kings, of whose sciences and wisdom no record is left, until they got back their empire with the advent of Ardashīr. But when Ardashīr established himself, he reckoned the era from the beginning of his reign, and was, in this practice, followed by the succeeding sovereigns of the Sāsānian dynasty, every one of whom dated the era from the year of his own accession. In this way the dates got mixed up, and the Arab kings did well by counting their years of rule from the commencement of the year of the Hegira."

This is all al-Kasrawī has recounted, mentioning how diligently he searched in order to obtain the years of the Sāsānid rule in correspondence with the Alexandrian era. But what has been said by al-Kasrawī, inspite of his pretensions to having made thorough investigations, is also confused and does not conform to the Alexandrian era. According to his computation, the Sāsānid rule lasted for 696 years and 9 days; whereas according to my calculation based upon the astronomical table above spoken of, it lasted for 786 years, 9 months and 19 days. Thus there is a clear difference of 90 years, 9 months and 10 days.

SECTION III.

Repetition of all that has been mentioned in Section I, along with the commentary of Bahrām b. Mardānshāh, Mobid of the town of Shāpūr, which is situated in Fārs.

Bahrām, the Mobid, says: "I collected more than 20 copies of the book called 'Khudāy-Nāmāh' in order

to establish the correct dates of Persian kings, right from the days of Kayūmarth, the Progenitor of mankind, upto the time of the passing away of their country into the hands of the Arabs.

The first man living on the surface of the earth was a man, called by Persians 'Kayūmarth Gilshāh', the King of Earth, for he ruled over the earth for 30 years. He left a son and a daughter, called Mashā and Mashy-anah. They had no issue for the first 70 years¹; but 18 children, male and female, were born to them during the next 50 years. After their death the world remained without a ruler for 94 years and 8 months. Thus the entire period of non-rule since Kayūmarth upto the beginning of the reign of Ūshhang, the Pishdadian, is 294 years and 8 months. Ūshhang b. Firwāl b. Siyāmak b. Mashā b. Kayūmarth ruled for 40 years. Then Tahmūrath b. Nawbijahān b. Ayūnkahd b. Hūnkahd b. Ūshhang ruled over all the seven climes for 30 years. Then his brother Jam b. Nawbijahān ruled all the seven climes for 616 years. Afterwards he fled away from Biyūrāsb and lay in hiding for 100 years. Biyūrāsb ruled over all the seven climes for 1000 years. Then ruled Ifrīdūn b. Athfiyān over the clime of Hunayrah for 500 years. Then ruled Minūchihr for 120 years, although Afrasiyāb, the Turk, occupied his kingdom with violence and force. Then ruled Zaw b. Tahmāsb for 4 years, although some outlying provinces were under the sway of Garshāsb.

Thus the entire period of the nine Persian kings of the first dynasty was 2734 years and 6 months.²

¹ Al-Birūnī : 50 years, *vide* p. 108.

² By total 2654 years, 8 months ; according to al-Birūnī 2634 years, for he gives only 50 years to Masha and Mashyanah, *vide* p. 114.

The Second Dynasty.

1. Kay Qubād	...	...	100 years,
2. Kay Kā'ūs b. Kay Qubād	...	...	150 "
3. Kay Khusraw b. Siyāwush b. Kay Kā'ūs	...	...	60 "
4. Kay Luhrāsb	...	...	120 "
5. Kay Yushtāsb b. Kay Lurāsb	...	...	120 "
6. Ardashīr b. Isfandyār Gushtāsb, also called Bahman	...	...	112 "
7. Humā Chihrizīd, daughter of Bahman b. Isfandyār, mother of Dārā b. Bahman	...	...	30 "
8. Dārā b. Bahman	...	...	12 "
9. Dārā b. Dārā b. Bahman	...	...	14 "

There were nine rulers of the second dynasty, which lasted for 718 yers. Afterwards the country was ruled by Alexander for 14 years, and then by a number of Greek governors and Persian ministers for 54 years, in all making a total of 68 years. God knows best!

The Third Dynasty.

1. Ashk b. Dārā b. Dārā	...	...	10 years,
2. Ashk b. Ashkān	...	...	20 "
3. Shāpūr b. Ashkān	...	...	60 "
4. Bahrām b. Shāpūr	...	...	11 "
5. Balāsh b. Bahrām	...	...	11 "
6. Hurmuz b. Balāsh	...	...	19 ¹ "
7. Narsī b. Balāsh ²	...	...	40 "
8. Fayrūz b. Hurmuz	...	...	17 "
9. Balāsh b. Fayrūz	...	...	12 "
10. Khusraw b. Milādān	...	...	40 "

1 Al-Bīrūnī gives 40 years, *vide* p. 118.

2 This king has been omitted in the Chronology of Ancient Nations, *vide* p. 118, and his years of rule assigned to Hurmuz.

11. Balāshān	...	...	24 years.
12. Ardawān b. Balāshān	...	...	13 "
13. Ardawān, the Elder, b. Ashkānān	...	...	23 "
14. Khusraw b. Ashkānān	...	...	20 "
15. Bihāfirid b. Ashkānān	...	...	15 "
16. Balāsh b. Ashkānān	...	...	22 "
17. Gudarz b. Ashkānān	...	...	30 "
18. Narsi b. Ashkānān	...	...	20 "
19. Ardawān, the Younger, (called "Āfdam" in Persian)	...	...	31 "

This is the entire period covered by the Third Dynasty, which had, along with Alexander, 20 kings, who reigned 463 years,¹ as found in the books.

The Fourth Dynasty.

1. Ardashir b. Bābāk	...	14 years and 10 months (excluding 30 years which he spent in reducing the Tribal Kings).
2. Shāpūr b. Ardashīr	...	30 years, 15 days,
3. Hurmuz b. Shāpūr*	...	2 "
4. Bahrām b. Hurmuz	...	3 " 3 months,
5. Bahrām b. Bahrām*	...	17 "
6. Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahrām	...	40 " 4 months,
7. Narsī (brother of Bahrām) b. Bahrām	...	9 "
8. Hurmuz b. Narsī	...	7 "
9. Shāpūr b. Hurmuz	...	72 "

¹ According to the calculation 447 years, to which may be added 54 years of Alexander's successors.

* Al-Bīrūnī omits Bahrām b. Bahrām, and assigns 3 years, 3 months to Hurmuz b. Shapūr, and 17 years to Bahrām b. Hurmuz, see p. 125.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 10. Ardashīr (brother of Shāpūr) | 4 years, |
| 11. Shāpūr | 5 " |
| 12. Bahrām b. Shāpūr Kirmān-shāh | 11 " |
| 13. Yazdijird al-Athīm b. Bahrām | 21 " 5 months, 18 days, |
| 14. Bahrām Gūr b. Yazdijird... | 19 " 11 months, |
| 15. Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr... | 14 " 4 " 18 days, |
| 16. Fayrūz b. Yazdijird ... | 17 " |
| 17. Balāsh b. Fayrūz ... | 4 " |
| 18. Qubād b. Fayrūz ... | 41 " |
| 19. Kasrā b. Qubād ... | 48 " |
| 20. Hurmuz b. Kasrā ... | 12 " |
| 21. •Kasrā b. Hurmuz b. Kasrā Parwīz | 38 " |
| 22. Qubād b. Kasrā b. Shirwayh | 8 months, |
| 23. Ardashīr b. Shirwayh ... | 1 " 6 " |
| 24. Burāndukht, daughter of Kasrā ... | 1 " 4 " . . |
| 25. Fayrūz, called Hushnubandah | A few days, ¹ |
| 26. Arzamīndukht, daughter of Parwīz ... | 6 months (including the days of the reign of Hushnubandah). |
| 27. Khurzād Khusraw b. Parwīz | 1 year, |
| 28. Yazdijird b. Shahryār ... | 20 years. |

This is the entire period of the Fourth Dynasty. There were in all 28 monarchs who ruled for 465 years, 1 month, and 22 days,² exclusive of the 30 years which Ardashīr spent in waging war with the Tribal Kings.

1 Āl-Bīrūnī gives 1 month, see p. 125.

2 By total 466 years, 3 months and 21 days.

Thus from the day of Creation upto the last day of the Sasānian empire, there were 66 monarchs, who ruled for 4409 years, 9 months and 22 days.

SECTION IV.

A brief history of the Persian kings, corresponding to the tables given above, and in conformity with what is to be found in the biographical books.

ŪSHHANG.

Ūshhang, the Pishdādian, was the first Persian king. The word 'Pishdād' signifies 'the first ruler,' because he was the first to rule over the land. He was crowned at Ištakhr, which, on that account, was called 'Būmshāh' or the "Land of the King". It is supposed by Persians that he and his brother Wikart were prophets. Among the new things that he introduced was that he dug out iron and contrived to make weapons out of it, and other tools of artisans. He also ordered people to hunt animals and kill them.

TAHMŪRATH.

Tahmūrath Zibāwand, which means 'Tahmūrath, the Sharp-Weaponed. He built the town of Babylon and the Castle of Merv. In some books we read that he built Kardindād, which is one of the seven towns of al-Madā'in. I think it is the same as Kardābād, [on which there was a Dastān (?)], but is incorrectly written as Kardindād. He also built two great edifices in Isfahān, one of them called Mahrin and the other Sārawayh. As regards Mahrin, it gave its name to the village in which it was built, and which before that was called Kūk. As regards Sārawayh, it was, after thousands of years, surrounded by the ramparts of the town of Jay. The ruins of both these edifices are still visible.

In his days the worship of idols and the painting of images came into vogue. The reason of this was that many people lost their dear ones; therefore they made effigies after their form in order to console themselves by looking at them. After a long lapse of time this custom degenerated into worship, and they began to adore them under the belief that they were intermediaries between themselves and God, and that they brought them nearer to Him. In his days also the institution of fasting came into fashion. The innovators of this were a set of poor people, who followed a man named Yudāsp. This man found it impossible to procure food for them, and so they managed to go without it during the day, and then drank a little water just to keep themselves alive. They continued in this way for a time, until it became a creed for them to worship God. These sects were called Kaldānians (Chaldeans) who, during the Muslim rule, styled themselves as Ṣābi'ūn. The Ṣābians, in reality, were a sect of Christians, who lived in the tract between the Baṭīḥah (the Great Swamp) and the desert. They differed from the rest of Christians and were held as heretics. Tahmūrath is reported to have said: "Every nation likes its own creed, and therefore do not interfere with them." This custom is still prevalent in India.

JAMSHĪD.

Shīd signifies 'light' and hence the sun is called 'Khurshīd'. It is supposed that Jamshīd was so called because of the divine light shining from his face. His whole name is Jam b. Finwinhkān b. Ahunkahd b. Ayunkahd b. Ūshhang, the Pīshdādian. Biographical books are full of stories about him, which, however, I have ignored for fear of prolixity. Among the new things that he accomplished was a bridge that he built over the Tigris. It remained in existence for a long time,

until it was destroyed by Alexander. Latter kings tried to restore it, but could not, and instead they built another bridge by making new arches over the old ones. The traces of this bridge are still visible in the pits of the Tigris, near the western bank, adjacent to the two towns of Madā'in, and fishermen avoid going to the western bank, when the water is low. It was he who planned the city of Ctesiphon, the biggest of the seven towns comprising al-Madā'in.

BIYŪRĀSP.

Biyūrāsp Dah Āg (Dah=ten; Āg=fire or calamity), was so called because he brought about ten calamities in the world, which, however, cannot be mentioned here. This is the ugliest title, but when it was arabicised it became exceedingly beautiful. For, Dah-āg, when arabicised, became Dahhāk (the laughing one), as he is denoted in Arabic works. His descent is: Biyūrāsp b. Arwandāsp b. Rikāwan b. Mādiḥ Sariḥ b. Tāj b. Siyāmak n. Mashā b. Kayūmarth. Tāj, his grandfather, was the ancestor of the Arabs, wherefore they are called Tājians. Biyūrāsp used to camp in Babylon, where he built his abode in the shape of a crane and called it "Kulang Dīs," which is known among the people as Diman Ḥat.

FARĪDŪN.

Farīdūn b. Athfiyān ruled over the clime of Hunayrah for 500 years. It is supposed that the prophet Abraham appeared in the 30th year of his reign. It is also said that Moses appeared in the days of Minūchihr, and brought away the Israelites from Egypt. In the days of Kay Khusraw, Sulaimān ruled over the Israelites. In the days of Luhrāsp, Nebuchadnezzar directed himself to the west, destroyed Jerusalem, the town of the Jews,

brought them as captives to the East and distributed them all over the eastern towns for various professions. Zardusht appeared in the days of Gushtāsp, and Alexander in the days of Dārā. Christ appeared in the days of Shāpūr b. Ashk, Mānī in the days of Shāpūr b. Ardashīr, and Mazdak in the days of Qubād.

It is said that Farīdūn divided his kingdom among his sons, Salm, Tūr and Īraj. To Īraj, the youngest of them all, he assigned 'Irāq, all its surrounding territories along with the Occident and India, and declared him as his successor to the throne ; to Salm, his eldest son, he allotted the Byzantine kingdom extending to the Frankish country along with the Occident ; and to Tūr, his middle son, he gave Tibet, China and the eastern countries. Salm and Tūr both became jealous of Īraj and killed him.

Farīdūn was the first to introduce incantations and to prepare an antidote from the body of snakes. He founded the science of medicine, discovered herbs for the treatment of physical ailments, and made asses cover mares in order to produce mules, combining the strength of asses and the speed of horses. He used to alight at Babylon, and God knows best !

MINŪCHIHĀR.

He was a son of Īraj, son of Farīdūn. It was he who dug the rivers Euphrates and Mihrān, which is greater than the Euphrates, and excavated several large channels from the Euphrates and the Tigris. It was in the 60th year of his reign that Moses (on him be peace!) took out the Israelites from Egypt and remained in the Tih (desert), administering their affairs for forty years, during which he wrote the book of Pentateuch for them. It was also during the reign of Minūchihr that the Vice-gerent of Moses brought the Israelites to Palestine.

Minūchihr transplanted various kinds of flower-shrubs from the mountains, and planted them in a fertile soil surrounded by walls. When their fragrance diffused, he called these enclosures by the name of Būstān, which means a place of fragrance and sweet smell. During his reign, Afrāsiyāb, the Turk, captured his kingdom for 12 years, compelled him to quit the throne and confined him to the forests of Tabaristān. Afrāsiyāb, during his ascendancy over Īrān, went on destroying the towns, rasing the forts to the ground, blocking the rivers, filling up the channels with earth, and drying up the springs of water. During the last five years of his dominance, a severe famine broke out among the people and lasted upto the end of his reign. The waters got dried up, the lands became barren and the cultivation scarce, until God destroyed him. Afrāsiyāb built the portion of the Wall of Merv, between the Qubandaz and the turning near the Gate of Nīq. God knows what is open and what is secret !

ZAW B. TAHMĀSP.

When Zaw came to the throne, he issued orders for the restoration of all the towns and forts which Afrāsiyāb had destroyed, and also for digging the rivers blocked by him. He removed the taxes and tolls that were levied by him, and soon the country became prosperous and thriving more than ever before. He dug two rivers in the region of Sawād, called az-Zābayn, and sweetened the water of the Tigris by their means. In his reign was born Kay Qubād, the founder of the Kayānīan dynasty, and Garshāsp, too, was contemporaneous with him.

KAY QUBĀD.

When Kay Qubād became king, people began to cultivate the land, and paid the tithe of their corn produce towards the maintenance of the army, the

defence of the frontier and the repulsion of the enemies. Formerly the province of Isfahan consisted of only one district, like Ray, but Kay Qubād added another district to it and called it "Istān Irānu Thārit Kuwādh", which in the days of Hārūnū'r-Rashīd contained the villages under the prefecture of Qum.

"KAY KA'US.

He resided at Balkh, and I have read in some books of biography that he was born at Babylon, where he built a lofty edifice rising into the air. I surmise it is the same as the building called 'Aqraqūf beyond Baghdād, for there is no other monument in that part of the country. Some chroniclers state that this edifice was called as-Šarḥ. This may be true, for a palace in the language of the Nabatheans of 'Irāq and of Syria is called "Šarḥa" and "Ma'dalā", which in their Arabic form read as Šarḥ and Ma'dal.

KAY KHUSRAW.

According to Persians he was a prophet who appeared in Balkh. It is recorded in their histories that he was informed that there was a red mountain, named Kūshīd between the territories of Fārs and Isfahān, and that in that mountain was a dragon, which destroyed filth and mankind. He marched towards it, collected all the people living on the top of the mountain, and himself stood at the foot of the mountain to face the monster, which he killed. He then erected by the side of the mountain a fire-temple, which came to be known as the temple of Kūshīd.

KAY LUHRASP.

Luhrāsp was the deputy of Kay Khusraw over his kingdom and was his cousin, for Luhrāsp was the son of

Kay Avajān b. Kay Manish b. Kay Fashin b. Kay Afāh. He was the first to have introduced the Military Roll. He made thrones for the satraps and bedecked them with bracelets. In the 60th year of his reign, Bukhtnaṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) b. Wayw b. Gūdarz, invaded Palestine and destroyed Jerusalem. He captured the Jews and made them servants and slaves of the people of his kingdom. Before Nebuchadnezzar, Luhrāsp, had despatched Sennacherib of Nineveh against the Jews, but he could not prevail against them. He left his kingdom to his son before he died.

GUSHTASP.

He was 50 years old and had by the time ruled for 30 years, when Zardusht appeared before him at Adharbayjān, offering him to accept his religion. He believed in him and sent envoys to the Greeks, calling upon them to embrace the new religion. They produced an epistle of Farīdān, granting them liberty of religion. Gushtāsp, therefore, left them alone, not liking to break the covenant which they held in their hands. He built in Dārābjird, a district in the province of Fārs, a triangular city, and called it Rām Washnāsqān, which is the same as the town of Fasā. Afterwards one of its citizens, by name Āzād Mard Kāmgar, who was the governor of Fārs on behalf of Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, broke its walls, and turned its triangular shape into a circular one. In the days of Gushtāsp, his son Isfandi-yār built a 20 leagues long barrier beyond Samarqand, against the inroads of the Turks. Gushtāsp erected a fire-temple in Munawwar, a village situated in the district of Anārībād, in the province of Ṭsfahan, and endowed the revenues of the district for its upkeep.

KAY ARDASHIR.

He is Bahman b. Isfandiyār b. Gushtāsp, and was called "Longhanded" (Longimanus) on account of his remote expeditions. It is said that his expeditions extended as far as Rūmīyah and that he invaded Dhābulistān and made captives of many people. In the region of Sawād, he built a town, which he named "Ābād Ardashīr" after his own name. It is called Hamānīyah in the Nabathean language and is situated in the sub-district of az-Zābu'l-A'lā (the Upper Zāb). He built another town in the district of Maysān and called it "Bahman Ardashīr" after his own name. This town is known as Furātu'l-Baṣrah (the Euphrates of Baṣrah). The Israelites suppose that Bahman, in their language, is the same as Korash of their historical books. He is said to have built in Isfahān three fire-temples in the course of a single day, one at sunrise, one at noontide and one at sunset. Of these the first temple of Shahr Ardashīr (Shahr = twilight and Ardashīr = Bahman) was near the castle of Mārīn; the second, Dharwān Ardashīr in Dārak, a village in the rural district of Khwār; and the third, Mihr Ardashīr, in the village of Ardistān.

HUMĀ CHIHRAZĀD.

She was Shamīrān, the daughter of Bahman, and Humā was her agnomen. She used to reside in Balkh. She sent one military expedition against Greece. Among the many captives that were brought back, there were skilful artisans, whom she employed to build the palaces of Istakhr, called "Hazār Sitūn" in Persian. These were three mansions built in three places, the one beside Istakhr, the second along the road leading to the town of Dārābjird, and the third along the road leading to Khūrāsān. She also set up a beautiful town of fine

architecture in Taymarah, a rural district in the province of Isfahan. This town, which she named Hamhīn, was afterwards destroyed by Alexander.

DĀRĀ B. BAHMAN.

He was the first king to establish postal stations, in which he built rooms for horses with docked tails. Hence the institution was called "Burīd Dhanab". When this word was arabicised, the last component part was elided, and the system came to be called "Barīd". He completed the construction of the town of Dārābjird, which was first begun by Dārā. It gave its name to the province, which heretofore was known as Istān Farkān. God knows best!

DĀRĀ B. DĀRĀ

In his days Alexander rose in the West. At this time all the nations—Egyptians and Berbers in the West, Greeks and Slavs in the North, and the Jarāmiqah and Jarājimah of Syria and Palestine—used to pay tribute to the kings of Persia. When Alexander became master of the West, he refused to pay the tribute to the officers of Dārā and said to them: "Inform Dārā that the hen which had laid eggs upto this time has ceased to give any more eggs." This was the cause of the war between Dārā and Alexander, until Dārā was slain. He built at Nisibayn a town called Dārān, which exists upto this day and is known as Dāryā.

ALEXANDER.

When Alexander finished with Dārā and overran Persia, he became perverted and trespassed all limits in shedding blood. In his army there were 7000 Persian nobles, who were led in chains as captives, and of whom 21 were being killed every day, until he reached

Kāshghar. He tarried there for a while and then returned towards Babylon. When he reached Qūmis, he was taken ill. On the way he became worse and succumbed before reaching Babylon, which had been reduced by him to a mound of dust. According to some anecdotists, Alexander is reported to have built twelve cities in Irān, all bearing the name of Alexandria—one in Isfahān, one in Harāt, one in Merv, one in Samargand, one in Ṣughd, one in Babylon, one in Maysān, and four in Sawād. But this story is a pure invention and has absolutely no foundation; for Alexander was more of a destroyer than a builder.

THE ASHGĦĦĦĦI KINGS.

When Alexander finished slaying all the nobles and respectable worthies of Persia, and had had the full measure of destroying the cities and fortresses, gaining all that he desired, he wrote to Aristototele:—"I have avenged myself on the entire East by slaying their kings and destroying their forts and strongholds. I am now afraid lest after my death they should be able to invade the West. I am therefore intending to deal with the descendants of the kings whom I have slain, by collecting them in one place and making them join their fathers. Let me know what is your opinion in this matter." Aristototele wrote back saying: "If you kill the sons of kings, the country will pass on to the low and the baseborn. And when these low men become kings and attain to power, they will rebel and rise against you and transgress the limits; and the consequences of their atrocities will be still worse. Therefore my opinion is that you should collect the scions of kings and appoint each one of them to a town or a district. Then if any one quarrels with another for what he possesses, enmity and hatred will prevail among

them, and thus occupied with their own affairs, they will have no time to think of those who are remote from them in the West." Following this advice, Alexander parcelled out the eastern countries among the tribal kings, and took away from their country to the West the sciences of astronomy, medicine, philosophy and agriculture, after he had got them translated into Greek and Coptic. When Alexander perished and the country fell into the hands of the tribal kings, they gave up all warfare and contention among themselves. They tried to excel one another only in abstruse problems. It was in their days that books such as Marūk, Sindbād, Barsinās, Shīmās and the like, which are commonly found in the hands of people, were composed. Such books were about 70 in number. In this way they continued until more than twenty of them ruled as kings, and some of them were ambitious enough to lead warlike expeditions against other countries. There were in all ninety of these tribal kings, and they respected the king who ruled over Irāq and resided at Ctesiphon, which is the same as Madā'in. Whenever he corresponded with them, he began with his name first. Below are mentioned the names of kings who led military expeditions against foreign countries.

SHĀPŪR B. ASHK.

Of those who led military expeditions against foreign countries, was Shāpūr b. Ashk b. Udhrān b. Ashghān. It was in his days that Christ appeared. He led a military expedition against Greece when it was ruled by Antiochus. He ruthlessly killed and captured the Greeks, collected their children in boats and drowned them, exclaiming, "O for the vengeance of Dārā." He succeeded in retaking what Alexander had removed from Persia and restored it to his own land. A portion

of the booty was spent upon digging a river in 'Irāq, called in Arabic "the River of the King" (Nahru'l-Malik):

GÜDARZ B. ASHK.

Of these also was Gūdarz b. Ashk, who fought against the Israelites and this took place after the death of Yahyā (John) b. Zakariyyā (Zacharias) (on both be peace!). He destroyed the city of Jerusalem for the second time, put the people to the sword, slew the Jews extensively and captivated a number of them. Before him, Titus son of Isfīyānūs (?), the Byzantine emperor, had fought against the Jews in 40 A.D., slaying and captivating them.

BALĀSH B. KHUSRAW.

Of these also was Balāsh b. Khusraw. He was informed that the Romans intended to invade Persia. He therefore wrote to all the neighbouring tribal kings and called upon them for help. Every one of them sent to him money and men according to his capacity. When Balāsh felt sufficiently strong, he appointed the ruler of al-Khiḍr, a tribal king adjacent to the Roman provinces, to lead the armies. He encountered the Roman forces unitedly and with full preparations, slew the Roman emperor, routed his army and returned with a large booty to 'Irāq, and sent one-fifth of the booty to Balāsh. These expeditions compelled the Romans to spend vast sums of money over the building of a large fortified city. They shifted their capital from Rūmiyah to the new city, because it was within an easy reach of the Persian territory. Their choice fell on the site of Constantinople, where they built their head quarters and established their government. Since this city was built in the days of Emperor Constantine, it took its name from him. He was the first emperor who embraced Christianity and

invited his subjects to it. He expelled the Jews from Jerusalem, and until this day they have no home of theirs.

ARDASHĪR B. BĀBAK.

ArdashĪr first of all took hold of the city of Iṣṭakhr, and then gradually consolidated his power by means of its people. By their help he overcame a number of tribal kings in the province of Fārs. When he got control of the province of Fārs, he was crowned king. After that he began to look into the affairs of the people. He saw around himself numerous petty kings, each one of whom ruled over a small tract of land and ground down his subjects under heavy taxes. He did not like this kind of diversity in their realms, inspite of the unity of their religion. He knew that nothing but ties of ancient love must have bound them together in the matter of religion, and so he asked those men at his court, who were well-informed about the religious matters and the state of the country, the cause of the disruption in which he found the kings of his age. They told him that their country was well administered by the early kings, because it was governed by one supreme ruler, whom the subjects obeyed in all respects. In consequence of this, their religion was respected, their country prosperous and their enemies subdued. When Dārā b. Dārā became king, his subjects began to hate him, being tired of his misrule, and refrained from helping him against the common foe. As a result of this, the frontiers were left defenceless, and much quarrelling and fighting became rife in the country. It was amidst this general disruption that Alexander invaded from the West, and found things much to his desire. All this encouraged Alexander to wage war with Dārā. It so chanced that one of the satellites of Dārā pounced upon him, shot him from

behind and slew him. After this Alexander overran the kingdom of Fārs, butchered its great men and nobles, and destroyed cities and forts one and all. Then he resorted to the books of their religion and their sciences, and burnt them to ashes, after getting the books dealing with philosophy, astronomy, medicine and agriculture translated from Persian into Greek and Coptic, and sent those translations to Alexandria.

After learning this, Ardashīr knew that he would not be able to promulgate justice among the people and control them by the art of administration, until they were united under one king. He thought he should be instrumental in bringing them together and in leading them to what was conducive to their well-being. He therefore began to send epistles to the neighbouring tribal kings exhorting them to this purpose. This was the first step of his policy; but as time went on he gave a newer shape to his policy according to the varying circumstances, until he was able to purge the empire of Irānshahr by slaying ninety of the tribal kings.

Ardashīr built a number of new cities, such as Ardashīr Khurrah, Bih Ardashīr, Bahman Ardashīr, Insha' Ardashīr, Rām Ardashīr, Rāmhurmuz Ardashīr, Hurmuz Ardashīr, Būd Ardashīr, Wahasht Ardashīr and Batn Ardashīr. As regards Khurrah Ardashīr, it is the town of Fayrūzābād, situated in Fārs, and was called Gūr. ((Gūr and Gār are two nouns meaning a low place or a pit, and not a grave, for Persians did not know graves and disposed of their dead in charnel houses and sepulchral vaults)). It was 'Alī b. Buwayh who changed its name to Fayrūzābād. As regards Bih Ardashīr, it is the name of two towns, one in 'Irāq and the other in Kirmān. The one in 'Irāq was one of the seven towns of Madā'in and stood on the western bank of the Tigris;

and its name was arabicised into Bibrasīr; while the other one in Kirmān was arabicised into Bardashīr. As regards Bahman Ardashīr, it is the name of a town on the bank of Dijlatu'l-'Awra in Maysān, and the people of Basrah call it by two names, Bahmanshīr and Furāt Maysān. As regards Insha' Ardashīr, it is the name of a town on the bank of the Dujayl, and is also called Karkh Maysān. As regards Rām Ardashīr, I do not know of its situation. As regards Rām¹ Ardashīr, it is called Rīshahr (Rayshar?) by the people of our time. As regards Rāmhurmuz Ardashīr, it is one of the towns of Khuzistān. Since its name consists of so many letters, the last word was dropped out of it. As regards Hurmuz Ardashīr, it is the name of two towns. When Ardashīr planned these towns, he called each one of them by a name compounded of his own name and that of God. He caused one of them to be inhabited by common people and the other with aristocrats and nobles. The town of common people also came to be called Hūjistān Wājār, which in due course of time was arabicised into Sūq Ahwāz. The name of the other town, too, was arabicised into Hurmushīr. When the Arabs reached Khuzistān, they destroyed the city of the aristocrats, but spared the city of common people. Afterwards during the war of Hajjāj with the Qurra'² they also destroyed two other towns of Khuzistān, one of them called Rustam Kuwādh, which was arabicised into Rasīqābād, and the other Jawāstād. As regards Būd Ardashīr, it is one of the towns of Mawsil (Mosul). As regards Wahasht Ardashīr, I do not know of its

1 The Latin translation gives Rāv, which seems to be more probable, although it is not given in the above list of names.

2 Qurra', i. e., the Readers of the Qur'ān, constituted the army of Ibnū'l-Ash'ath, against whom Hajjāj was fighting.

whereabouts. As regards Batn Ardashīr, it was one of the towns in Baḥrayn. It was called Batn Ardashīr, because its walls were raised over the dead bodies of its inhabitants who had thrown the allegiance of Ardashīr and disobeyed his authority. He made one row of the walls with bricks and the other with carcasses. He divided the waters of the river of Isfahān with the help of Mihr b. Wardān. He also divided the waters of the river of Khuzistān and dug several canals out of it. One of these canals was called "al-Mashriqayn" and in Persian bore the name of "Ardashīrkān".

In the "Book of Portraits" of the Sāsānid kings, Ardashīr is represented as wearing an ornate vest, trousers of sky-blue, and a green tiara set in gold, and holding a lance in his hand.

SHĀPŪR B. ARDASHĪR.

Shāpūr b. Ardashīr built Shādhrawān Tustar, which is one of the marvels of the East. He built many new cities, such as Nīshāpūr, Bīshāpūr, Shādhāpūr, Bih-az-Andīw-Shāpūr, Shāpūr Khwasht, Balāsh Shāpūr and Fayrūz Shāpūr. As regards Nīshapūr, it is a town in Irshahr, one of the districts of Khurāsān. As regards Bīshāpūr, it is one of the towns of Fārs and also gives its name to the district, in which it is situated. In Arabic the name of this town is abbreviated into Shāpūr. This city was built by Shāpūr over the ruins of another city built by Tahmūrath and later on destroyed by Alexander, but its old name has been forgotten. As regards Shād Shāpūr, it is the name of a town in Maysan and was called Wahbā in the Nabathæan language. As regards Fayrūz Shāpūr, it is the name of one of the towns in 'Irāq, and is called Anbār in Arabic. As regards Bih-az-Andīw-Shāpūr, it is one of the towns of Khuzistān and is known as Jund-i-

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Shāpūr in Arabic. Its meaning in Persian is "Better than Antioch," for Andīw was a name of Antioch. The design of this town was in the form of the chess-board, with eight roads in the middle crossed by other eight roads. Towns in those days used to be built according to the figures of different objects. For instance, the town of Sūs was built in the form of a hawk and that of Tustar in the form of a horse.

According to the Book of Portraits of the Sasanid kings, Shāpūr's vest is of sky-blue, trousers of red embroidered cloth, and tiara of red mixed with green. He is seen standing and holding a lance in his hand.

HURMUZ B. SHĀPŪR.

In his features and stature, he resembled his grandfather, Ardashīr, and was possessed of great prowess and courage, but he was not so perfect in judgment. His mother was Gardzād, whose name has become celebrated on account of a well known story. He built the edifice which is to be found in the royal city.

His vest, according to the Book of Portraits, is red embroidered, his trousers green and his tiara green in gold. He is seen riding a lion, with a lance in his right hand and a shield in his left.

BAHRĀM B. HURMUZ.

In his days, Mānī (Manes), the heresiarch, who had run away and was in hiding for two years, was discovered. Shāpūr confronted him with the learned, who disputed with him and defeated his arguments publicly. He was ordered to be executed. His was flayed and his skin stuffed with hay and hung up on one of the gates of the town of Jund-i-Shāpūr.

According to the Book of Portraits, Bahrām's vest is red, trousers also red, and tiara of sky-blue, with two crests and a lunula of gold. He is seen standing, with a lance in his right hand and a sword in his left, on which he is resting. Such is his portrait, and God knows best!

BAHRĀM B. BAHRĀM.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers are green; and his tiara is sky-blue between two crests and a crescent of gold. He is seen sitting on his throne, with a strung bow in his right hand and three arrows in his left. God knows best!

Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahrām. He was also called Bahrām b. Bahrāmān. His title was Sagānshāh. The reason of this title and similar others is that when a Persian king appointed a son or a brother of his as his heir-apparent, he was called Shāh of a particular principality, and this title stuck to him through the life-time of his father. When the crown passed on to him he was called Shāhinshāh. In this way Bahrām was called Kirmānshāh; and Nūshirwān, during the life-time of his father, Qubād, bore the title of Yaqar Qad Sajān Gar Shāh, which is the title of the ruler of Ṭabaristān. (For Yaqar signifies a mountain; Qad Sajān, plain or the foot of a mountain, Kar, a hill or a mound; and Sajān is a name for Sijistān).

The vest of Bahrām b. Bahrāmān is of sky-blue and embroidered; his trousers are red; and he is seen sitting on his throne and leaning with his hand on his sword. His tiara is green and has two apices and one lunula of gold.

NARSĪ B. BAHRĀM.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers are of sky-blue and embroidered; and he is seen standing, with

both the hands resting on his sword. His tiara is red. God knows the secrets best!

HURMUZ B. NARSĪ.

He built in Khuzistān, in the province of Rām Hurmuz, a village named Wahasht Hurmuz (also known as Kūrank). It is adjacent to Īdhaj, which is also situated in the province of Rāmhurmuz.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers, too, are embroidered on sky-blue; his tiara is green; and he is seen standing, with both the hands resting on his sword. God knows best!

SHĀPŪR DHU'L AKTĀF.

He was also called Huwayh-Sunbā (huwayh = shoulder; sunbā = piercer, perforator). He got this cognomen, because whenever he fought the Arabs and took them captives, he used to bore their shoulder-blades and combine them by means of a hook. For this reason he was called Huwayh-Sunbā by Persians, and Dhu'l-Aktāf by Arabs. Shāpūr's father died before he was born and the crown was placed on the abdomen of his mother. It was he who entered the Roman territory in disguise. He got into their churches and was apprehended. He ruled for seventy-two years, of which the first thirty years he passed in Jund-i-Shāpūr, and then removed to Madā'in, where he spent the remaining years of his life. When he defeated the Roman emperor, he made him agree that he would restore all that he had destroyed, and that in restoring he would use baked bricks and lime instead of ordinary clay bricks and mud plaster. Thus the walls of Jund-i-Shāpūr were half clay bricks and half baked bricks.

His vest is rosy and embroidered; his trousers, red and embroidered; and he is seen sitting on the throne

with a battle-axe in his hand. His tiara is of sky-blue, with gold colour round about, and having two apices of gold and a crescent of gold in its centre.

He built several towns, of which may be mentioned: Barzakh Shāpūr, *i.e.*, 'Ukbar Awāzān, Khurrah Shāpūr, *i.e.*, as-Sūs, and another town¹ beside it. Then he sent elephants to trample one of them (?), for its inhabitants had disobeyed him. Afterwards he brought many captives from a Roman province and settled them in the new town (al-ḥadīthah?). The remaining prisoners were scattered all over the country. He erected a fire-temple, named Surūsh Adhrān, in the village of Harwān, which is situated in the rural district of Jay, and endowed on it the revenue of the villages of Yawān and Jājāh, both of which are situated in the rural district of Najjān. In his time appeared the heresiarch Adharbād¹ on whose chest molten brass was poured.

ARDASHĪR B. SHĀPŪR.

His vest is embroidered brocade of sky-blue; his trousers are embroidered on red; his tiara is green; and he is seen holding a lance in his right hand and leaning upon his sword with his left. God knows best!

SHĀPŪR B. SHĀPŪR.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers are of sky-blue; under his vest there is another vest of yellow; his tiara is green mixed with red, having two apices and a lunula of gold; and he is standing with a steel staff in his hand, surmounted by the head of a bird, and resting his left hand on the hilt of his sword.

¹ In the Arabic text "Izdiyād".

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BAHRĀM B. SHĀPŪR.

He was called Kirmānshāh. He was coarse and conceited. He never read a story throughout his reign or looked into the wrongs of his people. At his death, all the letters coming from the various districts were found with seals unbroken. He ordered the following inscription to be written on his sepulchral vault: "We know that this body will soon be deposited in this edifice, and will neither be benefited by the advice of a kind friend, nor affected by the scorn of a foe."

His vest is embroidered and sky-blue; trousers red and embroidered; and his tiara set amidst three apices and a lunula of gold. He is seen standing with a lance in his right hand, and resting his left hand on his sword. God knows best!

YAZDIJIRD AL-ATHĪM B. BAHRĀM.

He was also called al-Mujrim (the Sinner) and al-Fazz (the Rough), and Dafr and Bazah-gar in Persian.

His vest is of red; his trousers of sky-blue; his tiara also of sky-blue; and he is seen standing with a lance in his hand.

BAHRĀM GŪR B. YAZDIJIRD.

His feats are well known in Turkistān, Greece and India. He had gone to India in disguise. He made his people work for half the day and spend the remaining half in resting, eating various viands, drinking and recreating. He also enjoined them to drink to the accompaniment of music and singing. In consequence of this, musicians were in great demand and the fee of a set of musicians sometimes exceeded a hundred dirhams. One day he passed by a group of people drinking without

singers and remarked, "Have I not ordered you not to neglect singers at the time of drinking?" Thereupon all of them made obeisance and said, "We sought for a singer and were prepared to pay more than a hundred dirhams, but we could not secure one." There and then he asked for pen and paper and wrote to the king of India for singers. The latter sent to him 12,000 singers, whom he distributed all over his kingdom. Here they married and begot children, who, though few in numbers, are still to be seen. They were of the Zutt race. He caused the following inscription to be written on his sepulchral vault: "After our power was established in the world, we left in it praiseworthy mementoes; therefore leave unto us this place which we are sure to occupy."

His vest is of sky-blue; his trousers green and embroidered; and his tiara is of sky-blue. He is sitting on the throne, with a mace in his hand.

YAZDIJIRD AL-LAYYIN B. BAHRĀM.

His vest is green; his trousers are black and embroidered in gold; his tiara is of sky-blue; and he is sitting on the throne, and leaning on his sword. God knows best!

FAYRŪZ B. YAZDIJIRD.

His vest is red; his trousers are of sky-blue, embroidered in gold; his tiara, too, is of sky-blue; and he is sitting on the throne, holding a lance in his hand.

He built several towns—one of them in India, another on the borders of India, another in the neighbourhood of Ray, another near Jurjān, and another near Adharbayjān. He compounded them all with his own name. For instance, he called one of the towns in India

Rām Fayrūz and the other Rūshī Fayrūz. He built a wall beyond the river (*i.e.*, Oxus) between the land of Irān and Turkistān. He entrusted the completion of the wall of the town of Jay and the locking of its gates to one Adharshāpūr b. Adhar Mānān al-Isfahānī, and for that he granted him the writ, known as Hafnah (?). He ordered half of the Jewish population of Isfahān to be put to death and their children to be sent as slaves to the fire-temple of Surūsh Adhrān in the village of Harwān, as they had flayed the skin from the backs of two Magian doctors, joined the two skins and used them for tanning.

BALĀSH B. FAYRŪZ.

His vest is green; his trousers are red and embroidered in black and white; his tiara is of sky-blue; and he is standing with a lance in his hand.

He built two towns, one of them in the Sābāt of Madā'in, which he called Balāshābād, and the other beside Hulwān, which he called Balāsh 'Azz.

QUBĀD B. FAYRŪZ.

He was called Guwādh Parīrā In Danish (? or Dabish, or Dīsh?). In his days, the country for some time was ruled by his brother, Jāmāsp b. Fayrūz, who, however, is not regarded as a king, for he ruled during the disturbance caused by Mazdak, after which Qubād was reinstated. The years of Jāmāsp's reign are included in those of Qubād.

Qubād's vest is of sky-blue and embroidered in white and black; his trousers are red; and his tiara is green. He is sitting on his throne and leaning upon his sword.

He built several cities—one of them between Hulwān and Shahrazūr and called it Irānshād Guwād; another

between Jājān and Irānshar and called it Shahrābād Guwād; another in Fars and called it Bih-az-Āmid Guwād, *i.e.*, Arajān, which was constituted into a district. Its meaning is "Better than Āmid": another beside Madā'in and called it Hanbū Shāpūr, which is known as Janb Sabūr among the people of Baghdad; another which he called Walāshjird; another beside Mosul, and called it Khābūr Guwād; and another in Sawād, and called it Izad Qubād Gard. He appointed al-Hīrith b. 'Amr b. Hujr al-Kindī as a king over the Arabs.

KASRĀ ANŪSHIRWĀN B. QUBĀD.

His vest is white and embroidered in variegated colours; his trousers are of sky-blue; and he is sitting on his throne and resting on his sword.

He built several towns—one of them was one of the seven towns comprising al-Madā'in and was called by him Bih-Az-Andīw Khusraw (Better than Antioch), *i.e.*, Rūmīyatu'l-Madā'in; another by name Khusraw Shāpūr and other towns. He built the barrier of Darband, *i.e.*, Bābu'l-Abwāb. The length of this barrier from the sea to the mountain is 20 parasangs. At both the ends of this barrier, he placed a captain with an army under him. He maintained them from the produce of the surrounding estates, and afterwards permanently endowed them on their descendants. Since that time the descendants of these captains are the custodians of the different parts of this wall. On the day he despatched these captains for the defence of the frontier, he invested each one of them with a brocade robe of honour, having a special kind of figures on each, and each captain got a title according to the particular kind of the figures on his robe. Thus their names were: Baghrānshāh, Shirwānshāh, Filānshāh, Idānshāh, etc. To one of them he

granted the right of having a throne of silver and therefore called him "Sarir Shāh", i.e., the enthroned king. (Sarir is not an Arabic word. It is a Persian word meaning 'a small throne'). Some of the great victories achieved by him were : the conquest of Sarandīb, the conquest of Constantinople, and the conquest of the province of Yaman. In the conquest of Yaman he achieved such a signal success as has rarely fallen to the lot of any one except the prophets. He sent only 600 of his warriors to fight against 30,000 people. They killed them all, except those that fled from the sword to take refuge in the sea, where they were drowned. The reason of this was as follows : The Abyssinians had crossed the sea to Yaman, expelled all men and married their women. Their king Sayf b. Dhī Yazan went to seek help from Anūshirwān. He waited for seven years at his gate until he was able to get an access. He informed Anūshirwān about the Abyssinians and what they had done to their women. Anūshirwān's sense of honour was aroused ; he took pity on Sayf b. Dhī Yazan and said, " I shall look into your affair". Then he reflected and said, " My religion does not permit me to expose my army to the dangers of a sea voyage for helping those who do not follow my religion. But in my prisons there are those who are fit to be killed. It is therefore proper that I should fling these felons against this foe. If they are victorious, I shall make that country a fief for them ; but if they perish, I shall not have sinned." So saying, he ordered the prisoners to be released. Their number amounted to 809, and most of them were descendants of Sāsān, and Bahman b. Isfandyār. He appointed over them Wahraz, a descendant of Bahā Farīdūn b. Sāsān. b. Bahman b. Isfandyār. Thereupon Sayf b. Dhī Yazan said to him, " O King of Kings ! how will these match against those whom I have left behind ? " The Kasrā.

replied : " A little fire is quite enough for much fuel." They started in eight ships, out of which two were wrecked on the way, and the remaining six reached safe. After getting out of the ship Wahraz asked his companions to hold a feast. Then he got hold of the remaining provisions and threw them into the sea. When his companions saw this, they cried : " You have deprived us of our stores and have fed the fish." He silenced them by saying : " If you are alive, you will eat that fish ; but if you die you would not be sorry to lose the food along with your souls." So saying, he also burnt their boats, and harangued his comrades in the following words : " Either win a victory, or die like cowards." He made the name of God, the Mighty and Glorious, and that of his sovereign, as his war cry, and defeated the Abyssinians by the grace of God, killing them all within five hours of the same day. The story of this wonderful achievement became famous with the kings of all nations.

It was in the fortieth year of Anūshīrwān, that the birth of the prophet (May the benedictions of God be on him and his descendants!) took place. When he was at his death-bed, he ordered the following inscription to be written on his sepulchre : " Whatever good we have sent forth is with Him, Who will not stint the reward ; and whatever evil we have committed is with Him, Who is not helpless in punishing."

HURMUZ B. KASRĀ.

His vest is red and embroidered ; his trousers are sky-blue and embroidered ; his tiara is green ; and he is seen sitting on the throne, with a mace in his right hand and resting the left hand on his sword. God knows best !

KASRĀ PARWĪZ B. HURMUZ.

His vest is pink and embroidered ; his trousers are of sky-blue ; his tiara is red ; and he is holding a lance in his hand.

He had in his palace 3,000 free women and 12,000 female slaves for music, amusement and various other offices. His bodyguard consisted of 6,000 men, and his stable contained 8,500 horses for his own riding, exclusive of those that were meant for the use of his retinue; 960 elephants and 12,000 mules for carrying his luggage, and 20,000 Bactrian camels. He got angry with Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, had him killed in the desert and his dead body trampled under the feet of elephants. He confiscated his property, wives and children, and ordered them to be sold at the lowest price. He erected a fire-temple in Bārmīn, a village in the rural district of Kirmān, and endowed the revenue of the neighbouring villages on it.

SHIRWAYH B. KASRĀ.

His vest is embroidered red ; his trousers are sky-blue ; his tiara is green ; and he is standing with a conical sword in his right hand.

He suspected a rising from his brothers, and killed 18 of them and several of their children. The names of his brothers are :—Shahryār, Mardānshāh, Kūrānshāh, Fayrūzānshāh, Afrūdshāh, Shādmān, Zarābzūdshāh, Shādzīk, Arwandzīk, Arwand-dast¹, Qas Dil, Qas Bih, Khurrah, Mard-Khurrah, Zādān Khurrah, Shīrzād, Jawānshīr, and Jahān Bakht.

¹ Not mentioned in the Arabic text.

ARDASHIR B. SHIRWAYH.

His vest is variegated and sky-blue; his tiara is red; and he is standing with a lance in his right hand, and resting his left hand on his sword.

When it was reported to Shahrizād, the lord of the Western frontier, that they had crowned a boy, he advanced towards the capital, entered the palace of Ardashir and killed him.

BŪRĀN DUKHT, DAUGHTER OF PARWIZ.

Her vest is embroidered green; her trousers is of sky-blue; her tiara is also of sky-blue; and she is sitting on the throne, with a battle-axe in her hand.

It was she who returned the Cross to the Patriarch. Her mother was Mary (Maryam), daughter of Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor. She came to the throne because Shīrwayh had massacred all the male children of his father. It was on this account that they were compelled to appoint women as their monarchs.

ARZAMĪN DUKHT, DAUGHTER OF PARWIZ.

Her vest is red and embroidered in various colours; her trousers is variegated and sky-blue; her tiara is green; and she is sitting on the throne, with a battle-axe in her right hand and resting her left hand on the sword.

She was brave and beautiful. She built a fire-temple in Qurtumān, a village in the rural district of Abkhāz. God knows best!

YAZDIJIRD B. SHAHRIYĀR.

His vest is green and embroidered; his trousers is sky-blue and embroidered; his tiara is red (the shoes of all the monarchs are red); he is holding a lance in his hand and leaning upon his sword.

The reason of his escape from death at the hands of Shirwayh was that his foster-father contrived to take him out of Madā'in and concealed him in an unknown place. After being crowned he was embroiled in continuous warfare for 16 years, and was ultimately put to death at Merv in 31 A.H., the eighth year of the caliphate of 'Uthmān. When Yazdijird left 'Irāq, he took with him his children, women and retinue, and as many of jewels and gold and silver vessels as he could. Thus his cortége consisted of 1000 cooks, 1000 eunuchs, 1000 lynx-trainers (hunters with the lynx) and 1000 falconers. He was conducted by Khurzād b. Khurhumuz, brother of Rustam, the Persian general at the battle of Qādsiyyah. He brought him to Isfahān, then to Kirmān and then to Merv, where he entrusted him to Yazdijird Māhwayh, the Marzbān of Merv. After obtaining a writ from Māhwayh for delivering the king to him, Khurzād returned to Adherbayjān. Then the king of the Hayātilah¹ intended to give battle to Yazdijird. Māhwayh conspired with him to put an end to the life of Yazdijird, and hence his descendants are upto this day called "Khūdah Kushān" (the Regicides). Yazdijird was assassinated in a grinding mill.

This is briefly the history of the kings of Persia, scarcely to be found in the biographical books. The rest is available in all other books of theirs. As regards their letters, precepts and similar other things to be found in the books of history, I have mentioned nothing of them in this book.

1. Hayātilah are the inhabitants of the country called Haytāl, commonly known as Ma-wara'an-Nahr (What is beyond the river Oxus). They were called Ephthalites or White Huns by the Europeans [Vide The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp. 433, 438].

SECTION V.

This section deals with all that is to be found in the *Khudā'i-Nāmah* (the Book of Kings), but is neither mentioned by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' nor Ibnu'l-Jahm. I have purposely put this section at the end of this chapter, so that the reader may look upon it like the story of Luqmān b. 'Ad among the Arabs, or like the stories of 'Uj and Balūqiyah among the Israelites.

I have read in a book copied from their book, *Avesta*, that the life of the world as determined by God, the Almighty and Glorious, from the beginning of creation upto the day of Judgment and Trial, is 12,000 years. According to it, the world existed in heavens for 3,000 years without a disease or calamity. Then it descended to the earth, where it lasted for another 3,000 years, without a disease or calamity. Then came Āhirman and there appeared calamities and discord, and evil got mixed up with good after an unadulterated life of 6,000 years. It was from the seventh chiliad that this intermixture of evil and good began. The first creatures that God made without a previous example, and without the pairing of male and female were a man and a bull. The man was called Kahūmarth and the bull "Abū Dād". Kahūmarth means living, rational and mortal, and his cognomen is Gilshāh, the King of Earth. To this man is traced the origin of mankind. He lived for 30 years in the world, and when he died a drop of semen issued from his loins and sank into the earth. There it remained for 40 years in the foetus of Earth. Then two sprouts resembling the plant *rheum ribes* came forth, and became transformed into two human beings of the same size and shape, one male and the other female, and were called Mashah and Mashyānah. Then after a lapse of 50 years, they married

and begot children. Ūshang, the Pīshdāḍian, was one of their descendants, who ruled over the whole world for 98 years and 6 months.

The same story has been read by me in other books, in different words and with a greater detail. It is said that the first beings which God, the Mighty and Glorious, created were a man and a bull. These two lived in the region of heavens and in the centre of the empyrean, for 3,000 years, without any calamity or disease. These were the three chiliads of Aries, Taurus and Gemini. Then they descended to the earth below, where they remained free from every kind of disease and calamity for the next three chiliads of Cancer, Leo and Virgo. When this period ended and the chiliad of Libra commenced, there appeared contrariety in the world. Then Kahūmarth ruled over the land, the sea, the bull, and the plants for the first thirty years of the chiliad of Libra. The Ascendant at the commencement of this chiliad was Cancer with Jupiter in it, when the sun was in Aries, the Moon in Taurus, Saturn in Libra, Mars in Capricorn, Venus in Pisces, and Mercury also in Pisces. The planets started from these signs of Zodiac in the month of Farwardīn, on the day of Hurmuz, the day of Nawrūz, and the night became distinguished from the day by the revolution of the sphere.

THE HEGIRA YEARS DURING WHICH
THE NAURŪZ TOOK PLACE, ACCORDING
TO HAMZA AL-ISFAHANI.

Annals, ed. Gottwaldt, pp. 158-187.

Translated by DR. U. M. DAUDPOTA, M.A., PH.D.

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month ¹ when the Naurūz took place.			
1	A	29	X ²	34th year of the reign of Parwīz, 18th Hazīrān.
2	B	11	XI	
3	C	22	XI	
4	D	3	XII	
5	E	14	XII	There was no Nau- rūz in this year.
6	F	25	XII	
7	.....		
8	G	6	I	
9	A	17	I	
10	B	28	I	
11	C	9	II	
12	D	20	II	
13	E	1	III	
14	F	12	III	
15	G	23	III	
16	A	4	IV	
17	B	15	IV	
18	C	26	IV	

1 A=Sunday; B=Monday; C=Tuesday; D=Wednesday;
E=Thursday; F=Friday; G=Saturday.

I=Muḥarram; II=Šafar; III=Rabi' I; IV=Rabi' II;
V=Junādā I; VI=Junādā II; VII=Rajab VIII=Sha'bān;
IX=Ramaḍān; X=Shawwāl; XI=Dhu'l-Qa'dah; XII=Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

2 The crescent moon night of Dhu'l-Qa'dah.

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place.		
19	D	7	V
20	E	18	V
21	F	29	V
22	G	10	VI
23	A	21	VI
24	B	2	VII
25	C	13	VII
26	D	24	VII
27	E	5	VIII
28	F	16	VIII
29	G	27	VIII
30	A	8	IX
31	B	19	IX
32	C	1	X
33	D	11	X
34	E	22	X
35	F	3	XI
36	G	14	XI
37	A	25	XI
38	B	6	XII
39	C	17	XII
40	D	28	XII
41		....
42	E	9	I
43	F	20	I
44	G	1	II
45	A	12	II
46	B	23	II
47	C	4	III
48	D	15	III
49	E	26	III
50	F	7	IV
51	G	18	IV
52	A	29	IV
53	B	10	V
54	C	21	V
55	D	2	VI

There was no Naurūz in this year.

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurüz took place.			
56	E	13	VI	
57	F	24	VI	
58	G	5	VII	
59	A	16	VII	
60	B	27	VII	
61	C	8	VIII	
62	D	19	VIII	
63	E	1	IX	
64	F	11	IX	
65	G	22	IX	
66	A	3	X	
67	B	14	X	
68	C	25	X	
69	D	6	XI	
70	E	17	XI	
71	F	28	XI	
72	G	9	XII	
73	A	20	XII	
74		.....	
75	B	1	I	There was no Naurüz in this year.
76	C	12	I	
77	D	23	I	
78	E	4	II	
79	F	15	II	
80	G	26	II	
81	A	7	III	
82	B	18	III	
83	C	29	III	
84	D	10	IV	
85	E	21	IV	
86	F	2	V	
87	G	13	V	
88	A	24	V	
89	B	5	VI	
90	C	16	VI	
91	D	27	VI	
92	E	8	VII	

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The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place.			
93	F	19	VII	
94	G	1	VIII	
95	A	11	VIII	
96	B	22	VIII	
97	C	3	IX	
98	D	14	IX	
99	E	25	IX	
100	F	6	X	
101	G	17	X	
102	A	28	X	
103	B	9	XI	
104	C	20	XI	
105	D	1	XII	
106	E	12	XII	
107	F	23	XII	
108		.....	
109	G	4	I	
110	A	15	I	
111	B	26	I	
112	C	7	II	
113	D	18	II	
114	E	29	II	
115	F	10	III	
116	G	21	III	
117	A	2	IV	
118	B	13	IV	
119	C	27	IV	
120	D	5	V	
121	E	16	V	
122	F	27	V	
123	G	8	VI	
124	A	19	VI	
125	B	1	VII	
126	C	11	VII	
127	D	22	VII	
128	E	3	VIII	
129	F	14	VIII	

There was no Naurūz in this year.

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place.			
130	G	25	VIII	
131	A	6	IX	
132	B	17	IX	
133	C	28	IX	
134	D	9	X	
135	E	20	X	
136	F	1	XI	
137	G	12	XI	
138	A	23	XI	
139	B	4	XII	
140	C	15	XII	
141	D	26	XII	
142	.....			There was no Naurūz in this year.
143	E	7	I	
144	F	18	I	
145	G	29	I	
146	A	10	II	
147	B	21	II	
148	C	2	III	
149	D	13	III	
150	E	24	III	
151	F	5	IV	
152	G	16	IV	
153	A	27	IV	
154	B	8	V	
155	C	19	V	
156	D	1	VI	
157	E	11	VI	
158	F	22	VI	
159	G	3	VII	
160	A	14	VII	
161	B	25	VII	
162	C	6	VIII	
163	D	17	VIII	
164	E	28	VIII	
165	F	9	IX	
166	G	20	IX	
167	A	1	X	

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place.			
168	B	12	X	
169	C	23	X	
170	D	4	XI	
171	E	15	XI	
172	F	26	XI	
173	G	7	XII	
174	A	18	XII	
175	B	29	XII	
176	.....			There was no Nau- rūz in this year.
177	C	10	I	
178	D	21	I	
179	E	2	II	
180	F	13	II	
181	G	24	II	
182	A	5	III	
183	B	16	III	
184	C	27	III	
185	D	8	IV	
186	E	19	IV	
187	F	1	V	
188	G	11	V	
189	A	22	V	
190	B	3	VI	
191	C	14	VI	
192	D	25	VI	
193	E	6	VII	
194	F	17	VII	
195	G	28	VII	
196	A	9	VIII	
197	B	20	VIII	
198	C	1	IX	
199	D	12	IX	
200	E	23	IX	
201	F	4	X	
202	G	15	X	
203	A	26	X	
204	B	7	XI	
205	C	18	XI	

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place.			
206	D	29	XI	
207	E	11	XII	
208	F	21	XII	
209	.....			There was no Nau- rūz in this year.
210	G	2	I	
211	A	13	I	
212	B	24	I	
213	C	5	II	
214	D	16	II	
215	E	27	II	
216	F	8	III	
217	G	19	III	
218	A	1	IV	
219	B	11	IV	
220	C	22	IV	
221	D	3	V	
222	E	14	V	
223	F	25	V	
224	G	6	VI	
225	A	17	VI	
226	B	28	VI	
227	C	9	VII	
228	D	20	VII	
229	E	1	VIII	
230	F	12	VIII	
231	G	23	VIII	
232	A	4	IX	
233	B	15	IX	
234	C	26	IX	
235	D	7	X	
236	E	18	X	
237	F	29	X	
238	G	10	XI	
239	A	21	XI	
240	B	2	XII	
241	C	13	XII	
242	D	24	XII	
243	.....			There was no Nau- rūz in this year.

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place.			
244	E	5	I	The crescent-moon night of Rabi' al- Awwal.
245	F	16	I	
246	G	27	I	
247	A	8	II	
248	B	19	II	
249	C	29	II	
250	D	11	III	
251	E	22	III	
252	F	3	IV	
253	G	14	IV	
254	A	25	IV	
255	B	6	V	
256	C	17	V	
257	D	28	V	
258	E	9	VI	
259	F	20	VI	
260	G	1	VII	
261	A	12	VII	
262	B	23	VII	
263	C	4	VIII	
264	D	15	VIII	
265	E	26	VIII	
266	F	7	IX	
267	G	18	IX	
268	A	29	IX	
269	B	10	X	
270	C	21	X	
271	D	2	XI	
272	E	13	XI	
273	F	24	XI	
274	G	5	XII	
275	A	16	XII	
276	B	27	XII	
277	.....				There was no Nau- rūz in this year.
278	C	8	I	
279	D	19	I	

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place.			
280	E	1	II	
281	F	11	II	
282	G	22	II	
283	A	3	III	
284	B	14	III	
285	C	25	III	
286	D	6	IV	
287	E	17	IV	
288	F	28	IV	
289	G	9	V	
290	A	20	V	
291	B	1	VI	
292	C	12	VI	
293	D	23	VI	
294	E	4	VII	
295	F	15	VII	
296	G	26	VII	
297	A	7	VIII	
298	B	18	VIII	
299	C	29	VIII	
300	D	10	IX	
301	E	21	IX	
302	F	2	X	
303	G	13	X	
304	A	24	X	
305	B	5	XI	
306	C	16	XI	
307	D	27	XI	
308	E	8	XII	
309	F	19	XII	
310	G	30	XII	
311		.....		The first crescent moon night of Mu- ḥarrām.
312	A	11	I	There was no Nau- rūz in this year.
313	B	22	I	
314	C	3	II	
315	D	14	II	

The year of Hegira.	The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place.			
316	E	25	II	
317	F	6	III	
318	G	17	III	
319	A	28	III	
320	B	9	IV	
321	C	20	IV	
322	D	1	V	
323	E	12	V	
324	F	23	V	
325	G	4	VI	
326	A	15	VI	
327	B	26	VI	
328	C	7	VII	
329	D	18	VII	
330	E	29	VII	
331	F	10	VIII	
332	G	21	VIII	
333	A	2	IX	
334	B	13	IX	
335	C	24	IX	
336	D	5	X	
337	E	16	X	
338	F	27	X	
339	G	8	XI	
340	A	19	XI	
341	B	30	XI	The crescent-moon night of Dhu'l-Hij- jah.
342	C	11	XII	
343	D	22	XII	
344		.....		There was no Nau- rūz in this year.
345	E	3	I	
346	F	14	I	
347	G	25	I	
348	A	6	II	
349	B	17	II	
350	C	28	II	

THE
K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
ANNUAL REPORT, 1931.

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report of work done during the year 1931.

Membership

At the end of 1930, there were 216 Life Members. Owing to the death of six of them, the number was reduced to 210 at the end of the year.

Among the 70 Ordinary Members, there were two deaths and four resignations against an addition of three new members, bringing down the number to 67 at the end of the year under report.

Deaths

The Committee places on record with regret the passing away of the following members :—

Life Members

- (1) Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Fifth Bart. (6-2-1931),
- (2) Khan Bahadur Burzoi Dorabji Patel (18-5-1931),
- (3) Framji Cowasji Bennett, Esq. (3-6-1931),
- (4) Lady Meherbai Dorabji Tata (19-6-1931),
- (5) Jehangir Jamshedji Vimadlal, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
Solicitor (21-7-1931),
- (6) Khan Bahadur Naserwanji Rustamji Mehta
(8-12-1931).

Ordinary Members

- (1) Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D.,
(8-2-1931),

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- (2) Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D. (5-8-1931).

Trustees of the Institute

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (1914),

Sorabji E. Warden, Esq. (1914),

Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law (1914).

Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor (1916),

Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.,
(Advocate) (1916),

R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A. (1916),

Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, 3rd Baronet (1928).

The Executive Committee

In the beginning of the year, the Executive Committee consisted of the following lady and gentlemen who were appointed to work up to 31-7-1931:—

President

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired).

Vice-Presidents

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana,
B.A., Ph.D.,

Sorabji E. Warden, Esq.

Honorary Treasurer

Kaikhusr H. Cama, Esq.

Members

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D.,

Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Solicitor),

Miss Serene M. Cursetji,

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.,

Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D.,

R. F. Gorvala, Esq., M.A.,
 B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.,
 P. K. Motivala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
 Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.,
 Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.

Joint Honorary Secretaries

Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.,
 S. K. Hodivala, Esq., B.A.

The New Executive Committee

The Board of Trustees of the Institute, at their meeting held on the 2nd April, 1931, appointed the following, along with themselves as ex-officio members, to serve on the Executive Committee for a period of three years, from the 1st August, 1931 up to the 31st July, 1934:—

President

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired).

Vice-Presidents

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana,
 B.A., Ph.D.,

Sorabji E. Warden, Esq.

Honorary Treasurer

Kaikhusr H. Cama, Esq.

Members

Miss Serene M. Cursetji,
 Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.,
 R. F. Gorvala, Esq., M.A.,
 B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.,
 P. K. Motivala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
 Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.,
 Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.,
 Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, B.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law,

Dr. Jal Feeroze Bulsara, M.A., Ph.D.,
Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D.

Joint Honorary Secretaries

Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.,
S. K. Hodivala, Esq., B.A.

After the sad death of Mr. Hodivala on the 13th June, 1931, Mr. Anklesaria took upon himself the whole secretarial work of the Institute. In place of Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, the Trustees of the Institute appointed Dr. Sir J. J. Modi as Vice-President.

New Ordinary Members

Dr. Jal Feeroze Bulsara, M.A., Ph.D.,
Ervad Framroze A. Bode, B.A.,
Dr. Vicaji Dinshaw.

Meetings

There were eight meetings of the Executive Committee during the year.

Record of Service

The following resolutions were passed recording the services of the Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, Dr. F. C. Andreas, Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, Esq., B.A., and Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D.

Revd. Fr. Dr. Zimmermann

"The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their deep sense of grief at the sad demise of their colleague, Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., which took place at Feldkirch (Austria) on the 8th February, 1931, at the age of 56 years. Fr. Zimmermann was invited to join the Executive Committee from the 1st August, 1925, and since then he evinced great interest in the work of the Institute which culminated in a series of

Government Fellowship Lectures he delivered in the year 1929 as the Government scholar of this Institute. The Executive Committee put on record their appreciation of his deep scholarship in the field of Oriental studies in general and Sanskrit in particular. Fr. Zimmermann's genial disposition and unostentatious fervour for the advancement of Oriental lore won for him a deep esteem in the hearts of his colleagues and pupils alike and his passing away will be long felt as a great loss in the sphere of Oriental scholarship.

"A copy of this resolution be sent to his brother Revd. Otto Zimmermann, S.J., and to the Rector of St. Xavier's College, to the staff of which he belonged."

Dr. F. C. Andreas

"The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their grief at the death of Prof. Andreas of the Göttingen University and record their appreciation of the great service done to Iranian scholarship by the deceased extending over a long period of more than 50 years.

"A copy of this resolution be forwarded to the University of Göttingen, to which the deceased belonged."

Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, Esq., B.A.

"The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute record their deep sense of sorrow at the untimely death of their Joint Hony. Secretary, Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, B.A., who died on the 13th June, 1931, at the age of 61 years. Mr. Hodivala was invited to join the Executive Committee on the 17th January, 1922, and since then he took an active interest in the well-being of the Institute. As Government Research Scholar for the year 1923, he had delivered a series of six learned lectures on the Indo-Iranian Religion which were greatly appreciated by Sanskrit

and Avestan scholars alike. He was appointed a Joint Hony. Secretary of the Institute in April, 1930.

“The Executive Committee place on record their appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the deceased to the cause of Sanskrit and Avestan scholarship in general and to this Institute in particular, and express their regret that his premature death has caused the heavy loss of an unostentatious and industrious scholar of great calibre.”

“The Executive Committee request the Hony. Secretary to convey their sympathy to the wife and children of the deceased for the irreparable loss sustained by them and pray for God’s blessings upon his soul. May it rest in eternal bliss.”

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana,
B.A., Ph.D.

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute record their deep sense of sorrow for the sad death of one of their Vice-Presidents, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darabji Peshotanji Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D., who died on the 5th August, 1931, at the age of 74 years. Dastur Dr. Darabji was invited to join the Executive Committee from the 1st August 1919, the date of its inception, and was appointed a Vice-President of the Institute from 1922.

“The Executive Committee place on record their appreciation of his great scholarship in the field of Iranian studies in general and the Pahlavi language and literature in particular. Among many of his learned works, including an English translation of Geiger’s ‘Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times’, the most remarkable is his Edition of the Dinkard with notes and translations into English and Gujarati. This work was commenced in 1874 by his revered father the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, who died

after the issue of the first 8 volumes. It was completed by Dastur Dr. Darabji in 11 more volumes with indefatigable zeal and industry, and will remain a lasting monument of his deep erudition, admired by scholars throughout the world.

"The Executive Committee deeply deplore the loss entailed owing to the death of such a learned scholar and colleague.

"It was also resolved that a copy of the above resolution be sent to the family of Dastur Darabji."

K. R. Cama's Death Anniversary

The twenty-second anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Thursday, the 20th August, 1931, in the hall of the Institute, when the Rev. J. McKenzie, M.A., Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, presided. An oil-coloured portrait of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., prepared by artist Mr. Mancherji F. Pithawala, was unveiled by Principal McKenzie who spoke at length on Dr. Sir Jivanji's services in his capacity as Honorary Secretary of the Institute and especially as an Oriental scholar of worldwide repute.

Dr. Sir Jivanji then delivered his discourse on "The Doctrine of Karma from a Zoroastrian Point of View."

K. R. Cama's Birthday Centenary

The late Mr. K. R. Cama was born on the 11th November, 1831, and a public meeting was convened on the 11th November, 1931, at the Institute premises, to celebrate his birthday centenary. Members of the various societies and institutions with which Mr. K. R. Cama was connected in his life-time, namely, the Lodge "Rising Star of Western India," the Sir Jamsétjee Jejeebhoy Zartosti Madressa, the Mullan Firuz Madressa, the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana, the Gnyan Pra-

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

sarak Mandali, the Parsi Girls' School Association, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Society for making Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion, the Gatha Society, the Theosophical Society and the Rahnumae Sabha, were specially invited.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bomanji Jamshedji Wadia, M.A., LL.B., was in the chair.

Leading members of the Lodge "Rising Star of Western India," No. 342 S.C., Mr. Abdeali Kajiji, Superintendent of Scottish Royal Arch Freemasonry in India, and the Master of the Lodge "K. R. Cama," No. 1366 S.C., with his office-bearers and other members attended the meeting. They entered in procession in their masonic regalia with implements.

Mr. Rustam K. R. Cama, in giving a brief sketch of the masonic career of Mr. K. R. Cama, said :

"Mr. K. R. Cama was initiated and admitted into Freemasonry on the 24th August, 1854, in the Lodge "Rising Star of Western India," of which he was an active member for exactly 55 years up to the date of his passing away on the 20th August 1909. During his masonic career of five decades and five, he had occupied the highest offices a Freemason in India could aspire to in the Scottish Constitution. In Craft masonry he was appointed Grand Master Depute of the Grand Lodge of all Scottish Freemasonry in India, and Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. In Royal Arch Masonry, he was the Grand Superintendent of Royal Arch Masonry in India under Scotland for full fifteen years and Honorary Depute First Grand Principal of Scotland. In order to commemorate his services to Craft masonry under the Scottish Constitution several young enthusiastic masons founded Lodge "K. R. Cama," No. 1366 S.C.,

which was consecrated by Grand Master Depute Dr. Sir Temulji Bhikhaji Nariman on the 24th August, 1931, being the anniversary date of the late Mr. Cama's initiation into Freemasonry and of which he (Mr. Rustam) was the first Master. By a coincidence the regular November meeting of Lodge "K. R. Cama" fell on the same date, i.e., the 11th November, as the birthday of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, and Providence had thus helped them to unite with the K. R. Cama Institute for the purpose of celebrating the centenary of a true and faithful servant of Freemasonry such as the late Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, who acted well his part as a man and a mason during his whole life of 78 years by working for the social and religious uplift of his community and as a public citizen for the civic welfare of his countrymen.

"Owing to his staunch advocacy of the principles and ideals of Freemasonry as being on a par with the tenets of the Zoroastrian faith, Freemasonry in this city became very popular in the Parsi community."

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., presented the "Life-sketch of the late Mr. K. R. Cama," prepared by him, and delivered a discourse on "The late Mr. K. R. Cama's Literary Work."

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia, in his final address, said that it was due to Mr. Cama's religious zeal and to his method of religious scholarship and learning that the scholars who followed in his wake adopted the western scientific method of investigation and research. He said that he was studying at College at the time when the late Mr. Khurshedji Cama had become well-known as an Oriental savant and scholar. Whilst a College student, he had heard a good deal of the scholarship and benevolence of Mr. Cama. He had the good fortune to speak to Mr. Cama only once in his life and that was at a social gathering of the Parsi students of all the Colleges in Bombay in

1903. Mr. Wadia considered no one more entitled to speak with authority on Mr. Cama's literary work than Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi. Prof. Darmesteter had, in the preface to his monumental work "Le Zend Avesta," called Mr. Cama a "Dastur laique" of the Parsi community, and he was truly deserving of such a title. Mr. Cama's munificence in helping the cause of education and learning was widely known, and his efforts for the reform of the Parsi calendar, as he considered it, were too well-known to need mention. He had translated many German works on Zoroastrianism, which the K. R. Cama Institute had undertaken to publish. There were many social and religious usages of the Parsi community which required to be reformed, and Mr. Cama had worked strenuously all his life for such reforms.

Translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad

In order to commemorate the centenary of Mr. Cama's birth, an anonymous Parsi donated a sum of Rs. 1,000/- to be offered as an honorarium to be paid for the preparation of an English translation of the Avesta Vendidad. Whilst thanking the donor for his gift, the Executive Committee suggested that the amount was not sufficient enough and that a transliteration and English translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad was a great desideratum. The donor having approved of this suggestion, the Executive Committee entrusted, by a resolution made at their meeting of 2-7-1929, the work of transliterating and translating the Pahlavi Vendidad to Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., for an honorarium of Rs. 2,000/-.

On the occasion of the Centenary Meeting, Mr. B. T. Anklesaria submitted his transliteration and English translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad. He gave a short account of the work already done in connection with the Vendidad from time to time and stated that a Pahlavi transla-

tion of all the Avestan texts including that of the Vendidad was prepared by the great Magúpatan Magúpat Átarpát Maraspend and his disciples, early in the fourth century after Christ, during the reign of the Sasanian monarch Shápuhr II. The Pahlavi version was enriched with glosses and commentaries by the Magúpats and Dastûrs who followed Átarpát during the regime of the later Sasanians.

The attention of the civilized world of letters was drawn to the religious scriptures of the Parsis by Anquetil du Perron who first translated the Avestan texts of the Yasna, Visperad, Vendidad and some of the Yasts in 1771 A.C., after having studied the Avesta and the Pahlavi under Dastur Darab Kumana of Surat. Johann Friedrich Kleuker published his translation of the Avesta texts into German in 1783, and Spiegel did so in 1851-1863. Ignace Pietraszewski gave to the world a novel translation of the Avestan texts in the Polish and French languages in 1862. In India, Dastur Framji Aspandiyarji Rabadi of Surat had, at the express request of the late Mr. Framji Cowasji Banaji, prepared a Gujarati translation of the Avestan Vendidad, Yasna and Visperad on the basis of the Pahlavi version, in 1824 A.C. Dastur Rabadi's translation was lithographed and published by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1842-43 A.C.

In January, 1866, the late Mr. K. R. Cama offered, in the name of "the Society for the Promotion of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion," a prize of Rs. 600/- for preparing a correct copy of the Avestan text of the Vendidad with the Pahlavi version written underneath the Avestan text, notes on variants in the Avestan and Pahlavi texts, and on the differences of view as regards translation, particularly noting the differences from the Pahlavi version and the translations of Dr. Spiegel and Dastur Rabadi, a vocabulary of the Avestan words occurring in

the Vendidad in accordance with comparative philology, and a refutation of all the misleading criticisms passed against the Vendidad. The amount of the prize was latterly raised to Rs. 800/-. When no essay was received at the stated time, the conditions of the competition were relaxed a little and the prize was advertized again. In January, 1869 A.C., Ervad Kavasji Eulji Kanga submitted his translation of only the Avestan text of the Vendidad with notes and comments, vocabulary and refutation of the criticisms against it. The work was published in 1874.

Ever since then, new translations of the Avestan text of the Vendidad have been made containing references to the Pahlavi version and the glosses and commentaries contained in the version. But a complete translation of the Pahlavi version has not been attempted up to now, and the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Institute thought fit to take advantage of the munificent offer, made by an anonymous Parsi donor, to bring to completion the work initiated by Mr. K. R. Cama in 1866 A.C., and to present it as a fitting tribute to the memory of the indefatigable Orientalist on his birthday centenary. This English translation of the Pahlavi version, as soon as published, will give to the world an idea of the knowledge of the Avestan scriptural lore and the way in which the Avestan texts of Zoroastrianism were interpreted sixteen centuries ago by the learned exponents of the Zoroastrian religion such as Âtarpât Mâraspend and his disciples.

Presentation of a Carpet to the Institute.

In order to commemorate the event of the auspicious day, and as a tribute of respect to the Institute which honoured the memory of Mr. Cama, Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi presented an Afghan carpet to the Institute. He said that it was presented to him by His Royal Highness the Prime Minister of Kabul, brother of His Majesty the Shah of Afghanistan, during his recent visit to Kabul.

Mr. K. R. Cama's Collected Works

• At the suggestion of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, the publication of the collected works of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was undertaken. The Life-sketch of Mr. Cama presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji will form the first volume and Mr. Cama's English writings and translations from German works will occupy the second volume.

The English Translation of Prof. Dr. Karl F. Geldner's "Die Zoroastrische religion (Das Avesta)"

The work was entrusted to Dr. J. C. Tavadia, B.A., Ph.D., of Hamburg in 1927. He has completed it and submitted the MS. of his translation, which will be published early.

Translation of Hamzah-i Ispahani

In 1930, Prof. Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., was entrusted with the work of translating into English the Arabic text of *Hamzah-i Ispahani's* First Book. He has finished his work and handed over the MS. for publication.

Copies of two rare MSS.

• Professor M. A. Shushtary of Mysore University applied for permission to take copies of two rare MSS. of the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana: "Shareh-i Dîwân-i Anvarî" (R. VII, 28) and "Shareh-i Abyât-i divân-i Khâqânî" (R. VII, 41). After securing the permission of the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana authorities, Professor Shushtary was allowed to get the copies prepared for him.

Lecture

Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D., delivered a lecture on "The Parthian Empire under Mithradates I," on Monday, the 6th July, 1931. Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., was in the chair.

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Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essays

The "Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize" of Rs. 500/- was announced in the public newspapers and journals for an English translation of the *Âbân*, *Khorsed*, *Mâh*, *Tîr*, *Drvâsp*, *Mîhir*, *Rashnu*, *Fravardîn*, *Râm* and *Dîn Yasts*, to be submitted on or before the 31st December, 1930. Two competitors sent in their essays under the nom-de-plumes respectively of "Ahunavaiti" and "Vîspa sravâo Zarathustri Yazamaidê." Dr. J. C. Tavadia, B.A., Ph.D., of Hamburg, was appointed examiner. In his report dated 10th June, 1931, Dr. Tavadia expressed his opinion that he could not consider either of the attempts worth recognition.

The Executive Committee have since reannounced the same subject. The essays are to be submitted on or before the 31st May, 1932.

Another subject announced for the "Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize" of Rs. 225/- was the English translation of the *Ashi*, *Âstâd*, *Zamyât*, *Hâdôkht* and *Vistâsp Yasts* and the *Âfrîn-i Paighambar Zaratusht*, to be submitted on or before the 31st December, 1931.

One essay has been received.

The Government Research Scholarship

On the recommendation of Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, Mr. W. Ivanow was entrusted with the work of preparing a thesis on "*The Gabri or Dari Dialect*," for an honorarium of Rs. 1,500/-.

London Agents

Messrs. Luzac & Co. were appointed the London Agents of the publications of the Institute.

XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists

The Committee elected Mr. R. P. Masani, M.A., as delegate to represent the Institute at the XVIIIth Interna-

tional Congress of Orientalists held at Leiden on the 7th to 12th September, 1931.

Bombay University Scheme of Co-operation

The Bombay University Library Committee proposed a scheme of co-operation between themselves, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the J. N. Petit Institute and our Institute, in order to help, by a mutual arrangement, in the purchase of some costly books which no single Institution can afford to purchase. The object was that at least one copy of rare costly books may be made available in Bombay for students to refer to in these Libraries. Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala and Mr. B. T. Anklesaria were appointed representatives of the Institute on the Committee empanelled for the purpose.

Insurance

The manuscripts, books, furniture and deadstock of the Cama Oriental Institute, and of the Manekji Limji Hateria Library, have been insured for Rs. 50,000/- with the Commercial Union Assurance Co. Ltd.

The manuscripts, books and furniture of the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhāna are separately insured for Rs. 20,000/- by the Committee of the Kitabkhāna.

Repair of Manuscripts and Books

49 MSS. and 5 books of the Cama Institute Library were repaired and bound at the cost of Rs. 157-8-0.

Furniture

Three new cupboards were purchased this year at a cost of Rs. 280/-.

Shortage of Books

The Executive Committee requested Ervad Bahmanji N. Dhabhar, M.A., and Prof. Nadirsha D. Minor

cherhomji, B.A., to report on the shortage of books and journals of the Institute Library. They submitted their report after a careful examination of the books of the Library: The Executive Committee placed on record their appreciation of the disinterested service rendered by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar and Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji. Several of the books and journals have since been found and steps have been taken to prevent further shortage.

Oil-Painting of Dastur Ardashirji Mulla Firuz

Mr. Ardeshar Burjorji Mulla Firuz presented to the Mullan Firuz Madressa an oil-painting of his grandfather Dastur Ardashirji Rustamji Mullan Firuz, who was the first Principal of the Madressa from its foundation on the 27th August, 1854, up to the day of his death on the 4th January, 1864. As our Institute has accommodated the Madressa in its premises, the oil-painting has been hung in the Institute Hall, by the side of that of Dastur Mullan Firuz, whose name the Madressa and the Kitabkhāna bear.

*Sasanian Gems and Cameos belonging to the
Indian Museum, Calcutta*

Mr. Kaikhusru J. Dubash, Solicitor, Joint Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Federal Council, sent to the Institute a box containing plaster casts of Sasanian Gems and Cameos belonging to the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The Executive Committee have invited members of the Institute and decipherers of Pahlavi to make an attempt at decipherment of the inscriptions on those gems and cameos and have resolved to print a photograph album of these gems after obtaining the permission of the Director General of Archæology in India.

Mon. Eugène Burnouf's Letters

Mr. Cursetjee Manockjee Cursetjee presented to the Institute an album containing nineteen original letters.

from Mon. Eugene Burnouf, two from Mon. Jules Mohl and one from Prof. Charles Lassen of Bonn, addressed to his father the late Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee between the years 1834 and 1846, as well as copies of eleven letters addressed by Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee to Mon. Burnouf.

The Executive Committee highly appreciate Mr. C. M. Cursetjee's gift, and have thought of publishing, if convenient, some of these letters which have not seen the light of day. Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi has been requested to look into the matter.

*Presentation of Encyclopædia Britannica to the
Udwada Library*

As the Cama Institute Library contained two sets (the 8th and the 11th Editions) of the Encyclopædia Britannica, the Executive Committee thought fit to present the set of the 8th Edition, belonging to the late Mr. K. R. Cama's own collection, to the Udwada Library.

Publications

Two numbers of the Journal, Nos. 18 and 19, were published during the year.

Donations

The Executive Committee have accepted, with thanks, the following donations received during the year:—

From the "Lodge K. R. Cama," on the occasion of the K. R. Cama Birth Centenary ...	Rs. 101/-
From a Zoroastrian, as a thanksgiving to God for the recovery of dear ones ...	15/-
From a Zoroastrian, as humble thanksgiving to God ...	11/-
From a Zoroastrian, as humble thanksgiving ...	11/-
From a Zoroastrian, in pious memory of his friend Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala ...	10/-

From a Zoroastrian, in memory of his father and sister Roz 26, Mah 2, 1301 A.Y. ...	Rs. 10/-
From a Zoroastrian, in memory of Seth Jijibhoy Dadabhoy on his anniversary (23-4-1931) ...	5/-
From a Zoroastrian, in memory of Aimaë on her anniversary (25-4-1931) ...	5/-
From a friend, in sacred memory of Mr. K. R. Cama on the 22nd anniversary of his death. ...	5/-
From a Zoroastrian, in memory of his mother on the anniversary of her death (Roz Fra- vardin, Mah Khûrdâd, 1301 A.Y.) ...	5/-
Total Rs.	<u>178/-</u>

General Fund

The General Fund of the Institute showed a balance of Rs. 2,02,041-5-11 on the 31st December, 1930. At the end of 1931 the balance was Rs. 2,01,383-3-2.

The Executive Committee tender their sincere thanks to Messrs. Navroz A. Davar and Co., Incorporated Accountants, for having worked as Honorary Auditors of the Institute.

BOOKS PURCHASED

Manuscripts

- A Multani Manuscript.
- Farokhshi in Avestan characters.
- The Farvardin Yasht in Avestan characters.
- The Behram Yasht in Avestan characters.
- The Aban Yasht in Avestan characters.
- The Farvardin Yasht in Avestan characters.
- The Afrin-i Gahanbar in Avestan characters.

English

"Dr. Modi Memorial Volume," by the Dr. Modi Memorial Volume Editorial Board, 1930.

"Persian Painting," by Basil Gray, 1930.

"The Persians," by Sir Denison Ross, 1931.

"The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads (Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 31, 32)," by Arthur Berriedale Keith, 1925.

"Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler," 1894.

"An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto," by Georg Morgenstierne, 1927.

"A Bibliography of Persia," by Lt.-Col. Sir Arnold T. Wilson, 1930.

"Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami: An Account of three Eranian Dialects," by Sir George A. Grierson, 1920.

"Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pushtu Mss. in the Bodleian Library, Part II," by Dr. H. Ethe, 1930.

"The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate," by G. Le Strange, 1930.

"Library Handbook and Index," by R. G. Kanade, B.A., 1931.

"The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects," by A. S. Tritton, 1930.

"Islamic Civilization, Vols. I, II," by S. Khuda Bukhsh, 1929, 1930.

"Persian Pictures," by Gertrude Bell, 1928.

"A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Parts I, II, III," by M. A. Ghani, 1929, 1930.

"Persian Literature (The World's Manuals)," by Reuben Levy, 1928.

"Poems from the Divan of Hafiz," by Gertrude L. Bell, 1928.

"Pahlavi Codices, K 20 and K 20 b (Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis), Vol. I (Introduction by Arthur Christensen)," by the University Library of Copenhagen, 1931.

"An Introduction to Persian Art since the seventh Century A.D.," by Arthur U. Pope, 1930.

German

"Die Grabschrift des Darius zu Nakschi Rustam," by Dr. Ferdinand Hitzig, 1847.

"Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie," by Paul Horn, 1893.

"Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens," by Le Coq, 1925.

"Beitrage zur Metrik des Awestas und des Rgvedas," by Johannes Hertel, 1927.

"Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, Part I (Texte und Index der Pehlevi-wörter," and Part II (Glossary), by H. S. Nyberg, 1928.

"Iranische und Armenische (Geschichte der Indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, Zweiter Teil, Viertes Band, Zweite Hälfte)," by Hans Reichelt and Heinrich Zeller, 1927.

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"I Eine Soghdische Inschrift in Ladakh,"

"II Reste einer Soghdischen Übersetzung des Padma-cintamani—dharni Sutra XXXII," by F. W. K. Müller,

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"Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnamag)," by F. W. K. Müller,

Persian

"Divan Abi Nivas," by Fariduttul Abi Nivas.

"Tarikh-ul Madineh, Vols. I, II." 1326 Hijri.

"Lughat-i-Furs (Asadi's Neupersisches Wörterbuch)," by Paul Horn, 1897.

"Al Fihrist of Ibn-un Nadim," by Ibn-un Nadim, 1348 Hijri.

Gujerati

"પારસી ગીતા," સર્વો મી. બહાદુર બરજેરાણ સરેશ્વર, ૧૯૩૦.

BOOKS PRESENTED

English

"Imperial Library Catalogue, Part II, Subject-Index to the Author Catalogue, First Supplement,"¹ 1929.

"Racial Intermarriages: Their Scientific Aspect," by J. J. Vimadalal and others,² 1922.

"The Idea of Man and Knowledge in the Conception of Persian Mystics," by L. Bogdanov,³ 1930.

"Stray Notes on Kabuli Persian," by L. Bogdanov,⁴ 1930.

"A Middle Persian Grammar," by C. Salemann (translated from German by L. Bogdanov),⁴ 1930.

"Social Customs and Race Degeneration," being a lecture delivered by Dr. Jamshed D. Munsiff,⁵ 1930.

"Fifty Years of Theosophy in Bombay," by K. J. B. Wadia,³ 1931.

1. Presented by the Government of India, Calcutta.

2. Presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.

3. Presented by the Author.

4. Presented by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay.

5. Presented by R. B. Paymaster, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

"Anthropological Papers, Part IV," by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,⁴ 1929.

"Address delivered by the Revd. John McKenzie, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, before the Annual Convocation of the University on the 18th August 1931,"² 1931.

"Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXI," by the University of Calcutta,⁶ 1931.

"The Mobedan Mobed Omid bin Ashavast, referred to by Hamza Isphahani. Who was he?" (Reprint from Wilhelm Geiger's Memorial Volume) by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi,² 1931.

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"Sraosha in the Gathas and in the Later Avesta," by N. D. Khandalavala,³ 1929.

"A Guide to the Gallery of Miscellaneous Antiquities in Prince of Wales Museum," by R. G. Gyani,⁸ 1931.

French

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6. Presented by the University of Calcutta.

7. Presented by the Ratheshtar Mandal.

8. Presented by the Curator, Archæological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

9. Presented by the Publisher, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris.

Persian

“Khordeh Avesta,” by Aga Mirza Hasan Kāshani,⁴ 1232 A.Y.

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“Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Band I; Heft I, II and III and Band II, Heft 1-4,” by Ernst Herzfeld,³ 1929, 1930.

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Sanskrit

“A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Library, Tanjore, Vols. VII, VIII and IX,” by P. P. S. Sastri,¹⁰ 1930.

“The Apastamba Sulbasutra with the Commentaries of Kapardiswamin Karavinda and Sundararaja,” by D. Shrinivasachar and Vidwan S. Narasinhachar,¹¹ 1931.

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“The Vāsisthadharmasāstram: Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. 23,” by Revd. Alois A. Führer,¹² 1930.

10. Presented by the Government of Madras.

11. Presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.

12. Presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona.

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Pahlavi

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Old Persian

"Cuneiform Inscriptions transcribed into Sanskrit and Avesta," by S. K. Hodivala, B.A.,¹³ 1931.

Gujerati

"જરથોસ્તી સને." કર્તા બેહરામજી લીખાજી કાંગા. ૧૮૯૫⁴

"મુ'બારીના પારસી ધર્મ ખાતાંઓ" કર્તા એસ્વદ જીવનજી જમશેદજી મોદી, ખી. એ.⁴ ૧૨૮૦ ચબુદગદી.

"ખા. બા. બમનજી બેરામજી પટેલની યાદગારીના ફંડને લગતી હિસાબની હકીકત." ⁴

"ધરાંની ખીલા રોકી તખતીઓ વીરો ઈજિપ્તીખીઅન ગરંથકારોએ કહેલી શોધ," કર્તા ભંગીરજી બરબોરજી વાચ્છા,⁴ ૧૮૯૩.

"મુ'બારીની પારસી પંચાએતની તવારીખ, ફક્તર ૧ હું તથા ૨ જી," લખનાર શ. ઉ. ડા. જીવનજી જમશેદજી મોદી,⁴ ૧૯૩૦.

"સીસ્તાન, નક્ષ અને ખાસ ચિત્રો સહિત," લખનાર માણેક ફરફુનજી મુલ્લા,⁴ ૧૯૩૦.

"અહેવાલે મુલ્લાં શીરાઝ ખીન મુલ્લાં કાઉસ જલાલ," કર્તા રસ્તમ બ. પેમાસ્તર,³ ૧૯૩૧.

"કલા રોક વિરહ," પ્રગટ કરનાર રેવારાંકર દયાલજી જોશી,² ૧૮૯૨.

"પાવ મહેલને લગતી ક્રિયાઓ, બાજબરજી અને નીરંગસ્તાન," લખનાર મોખેદ ખુરશેદજી બેરામ કામઢીન હસ્તુરના,³ ૧૯૩૧.

"પારસી પુરાતન પવિત્ર પુસ્તક, જંદ અવસ્તા" લખનાર નાયબે હસ્તુર રસ્તમજી એલ્લજી હસ્તુર પેશોતન સંબાણા, ખી. એ,^{14 + 15}, ૧૯૩૧.

13. Presented by Ardeshir Shapurji Hodivala, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

14. Presented by Sir Ratan Tata Charities Fund.

15. Presented by Jehangir D. D. Daruvala.

JOURNALS PRESENTED

English

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXI, Nos. 2-4 (October 1930, January, April 1931), Vol. XXII, Nos. 1, 2 (July, October 1931).

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 49, No. 3 (September 1930); Vol. 50, No. 4 (December 1930); Vol. 51, Nos. 1-3 (March, June, September 1931).

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, Parts II-IV (June, September, December 1930); Vol. XVII, Parts II, III (June, September 1931).

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. IV, Parts III, IV (January, April 1930); Vol. V, Parts I, II (July, October 1930), III, IV (January, April 1931).

The Humanist, Vol. III, Nos. 6, 7 (November, December 1930), 8-12 (January-May 1931); Vol. IV, Nos. 1-4 (June-September 1931).

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Iran League Quarterly, Vol. I, Nos. 1-4 (April, July, October 1930, January 1931).¹

The Asiatic Review, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 89-92 (January, April, July, October 1931).

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The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI, No. 4 (December 1930); Vol. VII, Nos. 1-3 (March, June, September 1931).

¹ Presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi. The rest are presented by the Publishers.

Young Zoroastrian, Vol. IV, Nos. 1-3 (March, June, September 1931).

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol. XIV, Nos. 2-4 (April, July, November 1930); Vol. XIV, Nos. 1, 2 (January, April 1931).

Review of Philosophy and Religion, being the Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2 (March, September 1931).

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Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, 1930.

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British Mazdasnan Magazine, Vol. 7, Nos. 9, 12 (May, August 1931); Vol. 8, No. 1 (September 1931).¹

Index to the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the years 1906-1922.

Report of the Working of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, from 1-4-1926 to 31-3-1930.

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Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, Parts I, II (January, April 1929).

Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (1927-28).

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Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 192 Jahrgang, Nos. 8-12 (August-December 1930); 193 Jahrgang, Nos. 1-4 (January-April 1931).

1 Presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi. The rest are presented by the Publishers.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Band 9, Heft 3-4 (1930); Band 10, Heft 1-3 (1931).

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Heft 3, 4 (1931).

French

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Le Monde Oriental, Vol. XXV, Fasc. 1-3.

Bibliographie Bouddhique, January 1928, May 1929.

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Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni : Anno VI, Vol. VI, Fascicolo 3, 4 (1930) ; Vol. VII, Fascicolo 1, 2 (1931).

Sanskrit, Marathi, etc.

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Mandir, Vol. XI, Nos. 2 (1930), 3, 4 (1931) ; Vol. XII, No. 1 (1931).

Telugu

Journal of the Telugu Academy, three numbers.

Gujerati

રાહે જરથુશ્ત્ર વો. ૧૨ નંબર ૩, ૪ (સપ્ટેમ્બર—ડિસેમ્બર ૧૯૩૦) & વો. ૧૩ નં ૧-૩ (માર્ચ, જુન, સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૩૧).



THE K. R. CAMA

Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES				Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	...	...	...	2,01,383	3	3
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	39,506	0	5
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	6,241	5	3
Bai Aimaee K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	4,954	9	9
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	3,285	15	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,733	13	0
T. R. N. Cama Donation Fund	...	...	...	6,736	5	0
Rivayet Publication Fund	...	...	...	4,464	2	6
Pahlavi Vendidad Translation Fund	...	...	...	1,155	4	4
Maneckji Limji Hateria Library Fund	...	...	...	4,144	12	0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi Appreciation Fund	...	...	...	981	14	0
Total				2,79,295	13	4

KAIKHASBU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

31st December 1931

ASSETS		Rs. a. p.
Cash with Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 10,897-0-4):—		
Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund Account ... ..	...	297 2 2
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account ... ..	...	711 3 3
All other Accounts ... ..	...	9,888 2 11
Securities—(With Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt, Rs. 2,68,308-13-0):—		
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 78,700 ... ..	...	63,506 15 0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes 1945-55 of Rs. 500 ... ..	...	500 0 0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of Rs. 51,500 ... ..	...	51,535 4 0
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Rs. 32,200 ... ..	...	32,200 0 0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of Rs. 500 ... ..	...	500 0 0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Rs. 1,17,800 ... ..	...	1,18,088 12 0
Furniture and Fixtures ... ..	...	2,177 14 0
Total ...		2,78,205 13 4

Examined and found correct,

—NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London).
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 12th April 1932.

THE K. R. CAMA

Account

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT				Rs.	a.	p.
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1931 (Rs. 2,02,041-5-11):—						
Cash with Bank ...	...	...	...	11,575	5	1
Securities ...	...	...	...	1,88,457	8	10
Furniture and Fixtures ...	...	...	...	2,008	8	0
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES:— (Rs. 804-7-0), recovered from						
The Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	18	10	0
The Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	8	9	0
The K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund...	...	...	...	6	4	0
The Fellowship Fund ...	...	...	...	111	0	0
The Mulla Feroze Kitabkhana ...	...	...	...	660	0	0
OTHER CREDITS (Rs. 39,073-9-0):—						
Annual Membership Subscription ...	...	...	...	640	0	0
Donations ...	...	...	...	178	0	0
Interest on Investments ...	...	...	...	8,175	0	6
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's Account ...	...	...	...	861	12	0
Sundry receipts (including sale-proceeds of books, journals, etc.) ...	...	...	...	200	0	6
6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 24,000 received in exchange for 6 per cent Bonds of 1931 ...	...	...	...	24,000	0	0
6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 2,800 purchased, at cost price ...	...	...	...	2,818	12	0
6 per cent Bonds of 1933-36 of face value of Rs. 2,200 purchased ...	...	...	...	2,200	0	0
Total Rs.				2,41,919	5	11

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,
Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 1

year ended 31st December 1931

DEBIT				Rs. a. p.		
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 16,271-7-11):—						
Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	4,160	0	0
Rent	...	...	...	3,300	0	0
Books and Periodicals	...	...	...	692	15	5
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	252	5	0
Postage and Stamps	...	...	...	131	6	0
Insurance	...	...	...	97	10	0
Clothing to Peons	...	...	...	120	0	0
Other General Charges	...	...	...	598	15	6
Publication Charges	...	...	...	1,899	8	0
Cost price of 6 per cent Bonds of 1933-36 of face value of Rs. 2,200	...	...	...	2,200	0	0
Cost price of 6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 2,800	...	...	...	2,818	12	0
OTHER DEBITS (Rs. 24,264-10-10):—						
6 per cent Bonds of 1931 of face value of Rs. 24,000 paid off valued at cost price	...	...	...	24,150	0	10
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	114	10	0
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1931 (Rs. 2,01,383-3-2):—						
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of the face value of	Rs.	60,300		47,518	12	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of 1945-55 of the face value of	"	500		500	0	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bond of the face value of	"	26,800		26,818	12	0
6 per cent 1933-36 Bond of the face value of	"	2,200		2,200	0	0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of the face value of	"	500		500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of the face value of	"	1,15,500		1,15,788	12	0
Cash with Bank	...	...	...	5,879	1	2
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	2,177	14	0
Total Rs.				2,41,919	5	11

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 12th April 1932.

Account
FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Fellowship Lectures	...	...	1,200	0	0
Publication Charges	...	...	300	0	0
Administration Charges	...	...	111	0	0
Balance on 31-12-31:—					
6 p. c. 1933-36 Bonds	39,000	0	0		
Cash	...	...	506	0	5
			39,506	0	5
			32,117	0	5

Account
DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Interest amount transferred to General Fund	...	...	861	12	0
6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 of face value Rs. 14,400 paid off	...	...	14,400	0	0
Balance on 31-12-31 :—					
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds	14,400	0	0		
Cash	...	...	129	8	0
			14,529	8	0
			29,791	4	0

Account
SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Stamp and Conversion Fee	...	...	2	1	0
Cost price of 6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of face value Rs. 700 at Rs. 100-6-0	...	...	702	10	0
6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 of face value of Rs. 3,700 paid off	...	...	3,700	0	0
Administration charges	...	...	18	10	0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:—					
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds	1,000	0	0		
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F. V. 200)	...	...	127	8	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 4,400	4,400	10	0		
Cash	...	...	711	3	8
			6,241	5	8
			10,664	10	8

No. 2 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—				
6 p.c. 1933-36 Bonds	... 30,000 0 0			
Cash	... 531 12 5			
		30,531	12	5
Interest	... ..	1,585	4	0
		32,117	0	5

No. 3 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—				
6 per cent Bonds 1931	... 14,400 0 0			
Cash	... 129 8 0			
		14,529	8	0
Interest	... ..	861	12	0
6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value Rs. 14,400 received in exchange for 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931	... ..	14,400	0	0
		29,791	4	0

No. 4 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—				
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds	... 1,000 0 0			
6 per cent 1931 Govt. Bonds	... 3,700 0 0			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 200)	... 127 8 0			
Cash	... 1,167 2 8			
		5,994	10	8
Interest	... ..	267	6	0
6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value Rs. 700 purchased, at cost price	... ..	702	10	0
6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 received in exchange for 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931, face value Rs. 3,700	... ..	3,700	0	0
		10,664	10	8

Account

BAI AIMAI K. R. CAMA

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate and Conversion Fee	0	8	0
Cost price of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of face-value Rs. 1,100 at Rs. 100-6-0	1,104	2	0
Administration charges	8	9	0
6 p. c. Bonds of 1931 of face value of Rs. 700 paid off	700	0	0
Balance on 31-12-31:—			
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds ... 1,300 0 0			
$6\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of the face value of Rs. 1,800 ... 1,804 2 0			
$3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. 900) ... 652 14 0			
Cash ... 297 9 9			
	4,054	9	9
	5,867	12	9

Account

SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Cost price of $6\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of face-value Rs. 900 at Rs. 100-6-0	903	6	0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:—			
$3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. 3,700) 2,379 9 0			
$6\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F. V. Rs. 900) ... 903 6 0			
Cash ... 3 0 6			
	3,285	15	6
	4,189	5	6

Account

K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Anniversary Celebration Expenses	70	15	0
Administration Charges	6	4	0
6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 of face value of Rs. 1,500 paid off	1,500	0	0
Balance on 31-12-31:—			
$6\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds 1,500 0 0			
Cash ... 222 13 0			
	1,722	13	0
	3,390	0	0

No. 5 FUND

Cr.

	Rs	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—			
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds...	1,300	0	0
6 per cent Govt. Bonds of 1931 ...	700	0	0
3½ per cent G.P. Notes (Face Value Rs. 900) ...	652	14	0
Cash ...	1,288	4	9
	3,941	2	9
6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 1,100 purchased at cost price ...	1,104	2	0
Interest ...	122	8	0
6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 700 received in exchange for 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 ...	700	0	0
	5,867	12	9

No. 6. FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 3,700) ...	2,379	9	0
Cash ...	777	6	6
	3,156	15	6
6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 900 purchased at cost price	903	6	0
Interest ...	129	0	0
	4,189	5	6

No. 7. FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—			
6 p.c. War Bonds of 1931...	1,500	0	0
Cash ...	210	4	0
	1,710	4	0
Interest ...	89	12	0
6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 received in exchange for 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 of Rs. 1,500 face value ...	1,500	0	0
	3,300	0	0

Account

T. R. N. CAMA

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Cost price of 6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of face value Rs. 1700 at Rs. 100-6-0 ...	1,700	6	0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:—			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes ...	5,000	0	0
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds ...	1,706	6	0
Cash ...	29	15	0
	6,736	5	0
	8,442	11	0

Account

RIVAYET PUBLICATION

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:—			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 4,600) ...	3,628	4	0
Cash ...	835	14	6
	4,464	2	6

Account

PAHLAVI VENDIDAD PRIZE

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:—			
Cash ...	1,155	4	4
	1,155	4	4

FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—		
3½ per cent G. P. Notes...	5,000 0 0	
Cash ...	1,561 13 0	6,561 13 0
6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of the face value of Rs. 1,700 purchased at cost price ...	...	1,706 6 0
Interest ...	...	174 8 0
		<u>8,442 11 0</u>

No. 9,
FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—		
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (Face Value Rs. 4,600)...	3,628 4 0	
Cash ...	675 6 6	4,303 10 6
Interest ...	...	160 8 0
		<u>4,464 2 6</u>

No. 10
TRANSLATION FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:—		
Cash ...	...	655 4 4
Donation ...	...	500 0 0
		<u>1,155 4 4</u>

Account

MANECKJI LIMJI HATERIA

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
	Balance on 31-12-1931:—				
	3¼ p. c. Rs. 4,000 G. P. Notes	...	4,000	0	0
	Cash ... ..	...	144	12	0
			4,144	12	0

Account

DR. SIR J. J. MODI

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
	Expenses for Life-Size Portrait	...	544	0	0
	Balance on 31-12-1931	...	981	14	0
			1,525	14	0

No. 11

LIBRARY FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1931 :—		
3½ p. c. Notes (F. V. Rs. 4,000).	4,000-0-0	
Cash	5-2-0	
		4,005 2 0
Interest		139 10 0
		<u>4,144 12 0</u>

No. 12

APPRECIATION FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan, 1931	1,370 14 0
Donation received	155 0 0-
		<u>1,525 14 0</u>

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No. 23.

EDITED BY
SHAMSUL ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., C.I.E., B A., PH.D., LL.D.

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GEOLOGICAL REFERENCES IN ORIENTAL SCRIPTURES.

BY M. B. PITHAWALLA, ESQR., B.A., B.Sc.,
F.G.S., M.R.A.S.

The challenge of modern science to ancient religion has been frequently given in recent years. It has occupied the minds of many thinking people and a solution of the question is anxiously desired. But the trouble is not so much with the anxiety with which it is solved but with the method of its solution. Just as there is much in the old accepted religious beliefs which up-to-date scientists cannot easily swallow, so there are some patent theories and hypotheses propounded by scientists which can never solve the problem of life satisfactorily. No longer should the world dabble in the kind of dual contest wherein science and religion are at complete variance. Both of them must now be united and a reconciliation sought.

An attempt has been made in the present essay to correlate the science of geology with some of the most important passages about the earth in oriental Scriptures, especially the Iranian. Geology is comparatively quite a new science, but the knowledge of the old Iranian people concerning the nature of the mother earth appears to us to be startling. This shows how there are at least some ways in which a union of religion and science could be brought about.

First of all, let us look to the rationale of creation as depicted in the *Dinkard*. The process of evolution, both inorganic and organic, which has only been recently

Order of Creation.

re-discovered by scientists, was not quite unknown to the Aryans of Iran. "The heavens, water, the earth, trees (plants), cattle (animals), and men are considered as creations belonging to this world. Of these, water was created after the creation of the heavens, and upon that water as the power, that keeps its formation in an uniform condition, blows continually the invisible wind of heavenly nature. After water the earth, after it the trees (plants), after them cattle (animals), and at last man was created."¹ Thus the order of creation is just as it is in Darwinism, and man is acknowledged as the very crown of it. What in Genesis² is referred to as a day of creation is in terms of geology an age or epoch, a period of time which the earth took to evolve itself gradually.

In the Zend-Avesta, the earth is considered to be Nature of the "broad, round and far stretched"³, and earth. also "gaily rotating."⁴

Though the sun and not the earth was thought to be in motion, the idea about the roundness of the earth was correct as can be seen from the following: "Owing to the earth being round, the sun in its motion always shines for the beauty, the refulgence and the lustre of half the earth."⁵

Even the earth's interior was considered to be in a plastic state at first. Geologists have now come to believe that below the solid crust of the earth is floating a viscous magma (sima), and the author of the *Bundahishn*

1 Dinkard by Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, Vol. III, p. 167.

2 Genesis I, 1.

3 Meher Yasht, 24, 95.

4 Gathas, Ys 41. 6.

5 Dk. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 12.

had some very pertinent remarks to make: "As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook and the substance of mountains was created in the earth. First Mt. Elburz arose; afterwards the other ranges of mountains of the middle of the earth; for, as the Elburz grew forth, all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Mt. Elburz."¹ It was also known that there was a common origin of all lands with the mountains forming the core of the continents: "Afterwards about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands and the passage for the waters (fluids) within the mountain is the root which is below the mountain; they forsake the upper parts so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body."² What a splendid reminder this of the theory of isostasy and the buoyancy of the earth's crust! The earth is verily a prototype of the human body: "As air moves about in the body of man, so it always moves about within the earth for its improvement As injury is caused in the body by irregular ways of behaviour productive of change, so when the passage of air is stopped in the earth by contrary movements, injury is caused in the direction in which the passage of air is stopped owing to no rent being found by it The air within the earth is always heated by fire and that it rushes up from below causing it injury thereby and splitting it into two parts As in the body of man, wind is known to be raised up by fire, so in the earth, earthquakes and other injuries are caused."³

1 Bundeesh, S.B.E., Vol. V, Chap. VIII. 4.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Dk. op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 116-117.

The Elburz is the mountain of mountains in the Bundahishn. Like the Aravalli range of India, which in the past geological ages was probably higher than the highest mountain in the world, viz., the Himalayas, the Elburz of today is but the degraded and denuded remnant of a once giant mountain system, which was "around this earth; the other mountains have grown out of it, in number 2244."¹ Like the Himalayas, too, it is spoken of as having risen in three successive stages of upheaval: "The Elburz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years—two hundred years upto the star station, two hundred years upto the moon station, and two hundred years upto the endless lights."² It rose so high that on its summit there was "no night, no darkness, no fog, no clouds."³

Thus the mountains of the earth as its backbones were created, but not without the effects of vulcanicity. There is a very appropriate reference to volcanic eruptions in *Zorepistan*, a Pahalavi work of the time of Noshervan the Great: "When heat accompanied with vapour is collected within the interior of the earth, a kind of force is generated within it; and when on the continuous application of heat the vapour finds no room to contain itself, it exerts a power in consequence of which the earth bursts and the hot vapour issues out through the rent. And if at any time the earth happens to be dry, it becomes very difficult for the vapour, accompanied with the heat of fire to rend itself the superincumbent stony ground and to issue out, and the movements which the heat of the fire makes at the time with the help of nature to issue out,

1 Bd. *op. cit.*, XII, 2. 3.

2 Bd. *op. cit.*, XII. 1.

3 Meher Yasht 50.

shake the earth to some extent and when the powerful force of the heat of fire accompanied with vapour shakes the earth, it rends some portion of the interior of the earth."¹ The internal heat of the earth is called Berezi-savang in the Bundahishn.² So powerful were the volcanic eruptions in Persia that there is no wonder if the ancients deified Fire as the very soul of the earth and the centre of the universe. Volcanic outbursts occupy a considerable area of Persia and the highest mountain Damavand in the Elburz chain is a volcano, which "although dormant in the historic period is of recent formation, and still gives vent to heated gases."³

Altogether there were seven continents called Kesh-
 Lands and seas. wars⁴ (Avesta) and Dvipas (Puras).
 They were separated by the intervening
 seas and were difficult to cross⁵. *Khaniras Bāmi* was the
 centre of them all, all other lands having surrounded it.⁶

The conflict between land and sea so well marked in
 the phenomenon of upheaval or subsi-
 Upheaval and dence was also well understood by the
 subsidence. • ancients. "The second conflict was
 waged with the water. This flood produced by Tishtar
 was before man was born on the earth"⁷ when "all the
 noxious creatures remained within the earth."⁸ This
 shows how there must have been an orogenic movement
 taken place before the Pleistocene period when man was
 born.

1 Dk. *op. cit.* II, p. 116-117 footnote.

2 Bd. *op. cit.* XVII, 1-3.

3 Encyclopælia Britannica, article on Persia.

4 Ys. XXXII. 3.

5 Dk. I p. 4.

6 Bd. XXI. 23.

7 Bd. VII. 1.

8 Bd. VII. 7.

But before this inundation brought about by Tishtar and the birth of the seas, there was one mass of land, one vast continent as was hinted by Bishop Casartelli¹ and is generally believed after Wegener's theory of continental drift: "On the day when Tishtar produced the rain, when the seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions. This portion as much as one-half is the middle and six portions are around; those six portions are as much as Khaniras."² Again, the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of the Elburz and so wide-formed is the ocean that the waters of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Ardui Sura which some say is the principal lake."³

Oriental scholars will have now to revise their notions regarding pre-historic lands and seas and rivers and lakes in the light of this new science of geology. The sea, Vourukasha, for instance, identified as the Caspian sea, is pictured in the Avesta to have such a tremendous dimension that it cannot be the present remnant of the Paleo-Mesozoic Mediterranean sea, but the vast Tethys sea itself, which once covered the lands north of the Indian peninsula, and practically the greater parts of Afghanistan, Persia, North Arabia and Asia Minor. The present Mediterranean, the Black and the Caspian seas are only the remnants left of it. And so is the river of rivers Ardui Sura, mythical in the opinion of philologists but real at first and now completely lost in the desert zone of Central Asia in the eyes of geologists. It is difficult to locate it in modern Persia, as there is no doubt that the sea has receded from many parts of the continent of Asia,

1 Philosophy of the Sassanides, translated by Phiroze Jamasp.

2 Bd. XI 2.

3 Bd. XIII. 1.

leaving them as dry deserts, *e.g.*, the Gobi. The same is also the case with the Sarasvati river mentioned in the *Rig Veda*. "Sarasvati, appearing in the form of this river, has been breaking, with her strong and swift waves, the high elevations of hills, like those who dig up for roots."¹ Also "May Sarasvati, Sarayu and Sindhu, the rivers which flow with huge waves, come here to protect us."² This shows that in the age of the *Rig Veda* at least, the Sarasvati was as important a river as the Sindhu, but to-day it is almost lost in the Rann of Cutch. Even Ardui Sura is "as large as all the waters flowing on the surface of the earth, flowing from the Hukere mountain into the sea Vourukasha."³ Bestowing purity on all earthly things, Ardui Sura was pure and spotless herself: "Through the warmth and clearness of the water purifying more than other waters, every thing continually flows from the source Ardui Sura."⁴ In all probability this river of rivers must have been lost in the deserts of Central Asia, probably the Gobi desert.

That tides on the earth's surface are caused by the gravitational force exerted on it by the Tides and ebbs. moon was surprisingly known to the Persian Aryans: "Concerning the flow and ebb it is said that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, one they call the down draught (ebb) and one the up draught (tide)."⁵

But more interesting than this is the theory of rain promulgated in the Iranian scriptures. Wind currents and rain. "The cause of rain is the Creator....." And those who are the instruments of carrying up water from below by means of the force of heat and the power of wind and who send it back

1 *Rig Veda* VI. 61. 1. 2 *Rig Veda* X. 64. 9.

3 *Avan Yt.* I • 4 *Bd.* XIII. 3. 5 *Bd.* XIII. 13.

below in its native force are the Yazads. Its whole original mass reaches from the sea to the limits of the vapour-formed clouds and so long as its original mass goes again and again from the sea, so long it rains upon the earth.....And the chief that is highest in rank among all these managers is Tishtar.....and he performs the work of drawing water from sea, rivers and springs and other places by means of the power of the wind and of giving it in the form of clouds, and of taking it hither and thither as clouds in the shape of water-lifting vapour and of taking it aloft.....¹ Hail and snow were also found to be similarly caused: "The cause of small and large drops (of rain), of hail and snow is air in different forms. If the air contains heat, the drops that fall are small, and if it contains moisture, large drops fall: if it is cold, it snows, and if it is dry, hail falls."² There is a similar account of the formation of rain given also in the Avesta: "He (Tishtar) agitates the sea (Vourukasha), he agitates it more and more, makes the sea waters flow on; he produces tides, makes them flow on; he produces heavier tides and fills all the sea shores full of waters. Then he stands up from the sea Vourukasha, he the star Satavaesa also stands forth from the sea Vourukasha: then vapour gathers round the mountain Hindu Kush (*which is in the middle of the ocean*), and rises up. Thereafter, Tishtar, the maker of clouds, carries the vapours along. In whatever directions he (Tishtar) moves, wind blows at first: and then the strong Mazda-made wind carries rain, clouds and hail towards all the seven continents."³

The qualifying clause added after the name of the mountain is very significant. It means perhaps that the

1 Dk. VII, p. 147-148.

2 Ibid.

3 Tir Yasht 31, 32, 33.

Tethys Sea still surrounded that part of the land in which it stood and that can only be the case in the pre-Tertiary times.

One of the most interesting legends current among the Asian peoples is that of the Flood.¹ That such floods must be actual and natural events in those post-Tertiary times and after the great physico-geographical changes resulting in the Asia of recent times cannot now be denied. Many parts of the country situated in big river basins were then liable to disastrous river floods. Some of them must also have been caused by glaciation in suitable localities. We have a very significant passage in the *Vendidad* showing a phase of the glacial age: "And Ahura Mazda spoke unto Yima : O fair Yima, son of Vivangha, upon the material world the evil winters are about to fall that shall bring the fierce deadly snow: upon the material world the evil winters are about to fall that shall make the snow creep downwards from high mountains to the valleys of the river Ardui Sura."² This is a probable reference to the glacial conditions of the land during the early Peshdadian period. Usually the ground was not within the zone of snow for, say the Scriptures: "Before that winter the country would bear plenty of grass for cattle, before the waters had flooded it. Now after the melting of the snow, O Yima, a place wherein the footprints of a sheep may be seen would be a wonder of the world."² There has been a tendency among Orientalists to connect the Vara which King Jamshed made for the drowning world with the Arc of Noah. But there seems to be no trace of glaciation in the following passage taken from the Old Testament: "And behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon

¹ Vd. II. 22. •

² Vd. II. 24.

the earth to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life under heaven; and everything that is in the earth shall die."¹

There is no reason to believe that such floods as are pictured above were always simultaneous. The Pleistocene age is known to have experienced frequent glacial and inter-glacial periods, to prove which however, substantial physical evidences such as, moraine, boulder beds, glacial valleys etc. are required. Until such are found by geologists in Central Asia, nothing definite can be pronounced. There was no doubt, however, that in most parts of Asia during this particular period the climate was cold and humid and floods were rather common. Such sudden drops in the temperature of the land was ascribed to the evil spirit: "Evil winters were let loose by a demon, death-causing."² Even the Biblical flood was caused by God's wrath, provoked "by the wickedness of the world."³

The age in which iron implements were made for the first time came long after the age of agriculture, which was first introduced by Yima (Jamshed). The practice of cultivating the soil followed the settling down of the Aryans in homes, which they called their own unlike the nomads of preceding times. But agriculture was not delayed till the art of smelting iron was discovered. The age of iron was in the late Neolithic times, which, archæologists put at about 20,000 years ago. This gives us, therefore, a clue to the probable age of some portions of the Scriptures, such as the Vendidad in which agriculture is considered to be only next to

1 Genesis VI. 17.

2 Vd. II. 22.

3 Genesis VI.

righteousness and the noblest of professions.¹ It must not be, then, less than 20,000 years—a figure which would make Oriental scholars of the type of Darmesteter to blush!

This leads us to one of the most debated problems which we have to face nowadays, *viz.*, Location of the Aryan Home, the location of the original Aryan home. There are serious pitfalls, too, in this borderland of geology and archaeology, but all the same it is a most interesting and instructive piece of research which is anxiously awaited and which is bound to throw a flood of light on several obscure passages in the Zend-Avesta and the Rig Veda. Neither the speculative theory of Bal Gangadhar Tilak of the Arctic Home,² nor its equally strange counterpart put forth by Dr. A. C. Das,³ *viz.*, Saptasindhu Aryan home, will now hold good. The attention of the scientific world is at present arrested by the discovery of fossils and human skulls in the region of the Gobi, on the shores of which pre-historic lake perhaps was born the first human couple—Mashya and Mashyai, and from which centre of distribution were sent out a series of expeditions by the Aryan race to the various parts of the then known world. It shall be the joint function of palæontologists and archaeologists to help Oriental scholars to solve this problem of locating finally the first Aryan home on the surface of the earth.

1 Vd. III.

2 Arctic Home in the Vedas.

3 Rig Vedic India by A. C. Das, Calcutta 1927.

DANTE AND PERSIA

*Summary of an article entitled "Dante e la Persia"
by Dr. Carlo Formichi in Nuova Antologia (Anno 66—
Fascicolo 1424—16 Luglio 1931—A. IX.)*

[In September 1931 Count Galleani d'Agliano, the Consul-General of Italy in Bombay, during an interview, kindly drew my attention to the above article from the pen of Dr. Carlo Formichi, who had kindly delivered before the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute a lecture on "Meditative and Active India" on the 14th March 1926. I requested the Count to kindly get prepared for this journal a summary of the article. He has kindly done so, and has also presented to the Institute a copy of the Journal. I beg to express my thanks to him for the trouble he has taken in the matter. —EDITOR.]

The Parsis are the descendants of the ancient Persians. In India they form a notable community, especially in Bombay, and are very prosperous in trade and industries, the fruit of their energy and skill. Loyal to ancestral traditions they have religiously preserved the sacred books which their fathers, driven from their country by Islamic intolerance, brought with them to more tolerant India. They are recognized in the streets of Bombay by their characteristic head-gear.

They count many learned men among them. The Cama Oriental Institute possesses codices and rare editions of the ancient texts, promotes Iranian Studies, and publishes an important Review, in constant and active correspondence with Orientalists of Europe and America.

Five years ago I was invited by the Cama Institute to give a lecture and was introduced to my audience, mostly of Parsis, by the venerable Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, an Iranic scholar of repute and a passionate admirer of Dante, about whom he wrote several articles, collected in

one volume under the title of "Dante Papers".

These he kindly presented to me, thus flattering my national pride when I saw his "Massimo Poeta" of Italy an object of eager study even by the Parsis of Bombay. I read the book with interest, and I think it now worth while to draw the attention of readers of Dante to the theories expounded by the learned author.

The learned Parsi scholar naturally limits his research what, in the *Divina Commedia*, refers to Persia, and which he thinks may be an echo of or a borrowing from Persian lore.

He queries: What can then be the connection of Dante with Persia? In a passage of *Paradiso*, Canto 19, v. 112-114, Dante speaks of the Persians, whose just kings he contrasts with the unjust Christian kings.

"What could the Persians say to your monarchs?"
 "When they will see that open volume wherein all their crimes are revealed?"

From the above quotation Dr. Modi infers that Dante considered the Persians to be a just people, and since he praised them, he must have known them. Dante (continues the Doctor) cannot refer to Zenghis Khan, of whom he may have heard through Marco Polo. A man like Zenghis Khan could not find favour with Dante. Dante surely refers to Noshirwan, Chosroes I, who obtained the denomination of Just.

Though the conjecture appears to us somewhat vague and uncertain, still we note what Dante mentions about the Persians and their kings "who might draw matter of scandal, if they came to know of the shameful deeds of the Christian kings".

What interests us most is the questions raised by Dr. Modi. Can we then infer that "Dante was a disciple, an imitator of our Ar dai Viraf"? Ar dai Viraf lived probably

in the VI century A.D. He tried to stem the tide of contemporary scepticism and to revive the doctrine of Zarathushtra. Privileged to visit the regions where the good are rewarded and the wicked punished, Ardai Viraf reached the very presence of God, in order to bring back saving message to men of good will.

Having taken the soporiferous potion, Viraf fell into a kind of lethargic coma for seven days and nights. On awakening he summoned a scribe to whom he dictated the vision which we here summarize. (The summary of the vision follows here.)

Even admitting that Dante could not possibly have known and read the vision of Viraf, one cannot but recognize remarkable strange concordances not only in the general lines, but in many details of the Persian narrative in the poem of Dante.

Dr. Modi groups these concordances under different heads. These concordances are many. Are they the result of chance? Is it feasible to assign to them a scientific reason?

Dante must have drawn his materials from various sources, some of them are—

Bk. VI of the Aeneis

Sketches of Perpetua and Felicitia

The Story of Trajano, by Paul Deacono in the life,
of St. Gregory

The Vision of Drithelm (Venerable Bede)

Adamnan (VIII Century A.D.)

Wettin of Reichenau

Prudentius

Charles the Sald

Charles the Grosso

St. Brandon

St. Patrick

St. Paul

Walkelin

Albericus of Monte Cassino

Matilda

Brunetto Latini

and to the abovenamed sources, Dr. Modi would add *Vinaf-nameh*. But how could Dante have come to the knowledge of the book? On this point Dr. Modi advances the following theory.

(a) Dante was enrolled in the register of the Guild of Physicians and Farmacists and as such he must have had frequent and uninterrupted relations with the Eastern markets. A Florentine Farmacist would be also a dealer in precious stones and in respect of this item of trade the farmacists of Florence (Venice, Pisa, Genova) were the link between India—Persia and France and England.

(b) During his exile Dante made the acquaintance with the learned Israelite Emmanuel ben Salomo of Rome, the writer of a poem dealing with a vision of Hell and Paradise, and having so many points of contact with the Divine Comedy, so as to make an exchange of views between the two writers a practical certainty. The prophet Daniel, a personage so closely connected with Iran that some scholars would identify him with Zoroaster himself, is the guide in lieu of Virgil. Is it not likely that Emmanuel, Dante's friend and well-versed in the literature of Iran, supplied to Dante the materials for the vision?

(c) Ireland represents mysterious relations with Iran. Her very name Erin suggests hypothetic connections, confirmed by the undeniable similarity between the story of Cucullin and Conloch and that of Sorab and Rustom of *Shahnameh*. As this last story migrated into Ireland so the original version of the visit of an Iranian saint to the worlds beyond the tombs may have travelled thither, and furnished the materials to Adamnan for his vision. The

conjecture is a plausible one—that Dante may have known the work of the Irish saint and therefrom drawn ideas and inspirations.

Dr. Modi in other words would seem to adopt the view of C. S. Boswell (in an Irish Precursor of Dante) that Dante drew on the legends of the primitive church which according to Boswell were derived partly from classic, partly from Hebrew traditions modified and transformed by Caldena, Zoroastrian, and Egyptian influences. Undoubtedly in Dante there is an echo of Persian eschatological doctrines, the echo is faint, but it does exist, and only a deaf man can miss it.

Another important question bearing on our subject would be the study of the analogies between the mystic language of the "Fedeli d'Amore" with Rosa, the woman of the earliest Italian poetry, and Rosa, the goal of love in the romance of the Rose and in Fiore, the last scope of Dante's sacred pilgrimage.

This last interesting question of the relations between the mystic poetry of Persia and that of the Fedeli d'Amore appears to have escaped the notice of Dr. Modi; or he would have made it to confirm his theory, tending to connect Dante with Persia.

In conclusion, I incline to the opinion that Dante had no direct knowledge of the Viraf-nameh or of the mystic Persian poetry or of the Rosa beloved by the mystic nightingale of the East.

Dante mentions the Persians but once; surely he would have referred to them again and again, had he known about Zarathushtra, Arda Viraf, the nightingale and the Rose.

There are, however, undeniable Persian elements in Dante but these are, so to say, unconscious, and drawn from the popular Christian traditions which in turn had assimilated them through a secular process of infiltration and slow propagation from Persia to our shores.

THE MANDÆANS (THE SO-CALLED CHRISTIANS OF ST. JOHN, THE BAPTIST) OF THE EUPHRATES VALLEY. INFLUENCE OF ZOROAS- TRIANISM UPON THEIR CREED, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

I

INTRODUCTION.

In the September 1929 issue of the Journal of the American Oriental Society,¹ there is an interesting article, headed "The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandeans," by Mr. C. H. Kraeling. This article led me to have a look into the articles on the Mandæans in Revd. James Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,² and in the Encyclopædia Britannica,³ by Dr. Wilhelm Brandt, and by Professor Kessler, respectively. We have also a recent interesting article on the subject from the pen of Dr. Vincent Taylor.⁴ The study of these articles has led me to see, that Zoroastrianism must have exerted a great influence upon the creed, manners and customs of this old sect of the Euphrates⁵ Valley. This paper is intended to point out the various similarities that exist between the beliefs, manners and customs of the

1 Vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 195-218. 2 Vol. 8, pp. 308-393.

3 9th Edition, Vol. XV, pp. 467-470.

4 Hibbert Journal of April 1930. "The Mandæans and the Fourth Gospel," pp. 531-546.

5 The Iranian name of the Euphrates is Frāt (فرات). The first part 'eu' in the modern name is Gr. 'Eu', good, and is used for euphony. The name means "the good Frāt"

Mandæans and those of the Zoroastrians, to enable scholars to see, to what a great extent Zoroastrianism must have influenced Mandæism. Unfortunately, we have not sufficient materials here, in Bombay, to study Mandæism, at first hand, and even at second hand. For example, Mr. Kraeling gives a bibliography of recent publications on this ancient sect, but, on inquiry from the Librarian of the B. B., Royal Asiatic Society here, I was told on 19th December 1929, that "None of the books are in the Library." I hope that some Avesta-Pahlavi scholars of the West with fuller materials at their disposal in the libraries of the West, may take up the question of similarities and throw more light on the subject. My limited study leads me to say, that the Mandæans, if not originally a Zoroastrian sect, were a sect very much influenced by Zoroastrianism.

Facts supporting the view of their being a Zoroastrian Sect.

There are two main facts which, laying aside the question of similarities, help us to say, that the Mandæans are the remnants of a Zoroastrian sect :

1. Firstly, the fact that their books run down Moses, Christ and Mahomed, but not Zoroaster.
2. Secondly, the fact that the Sassanians, though they are said by some to have persecuted the Manichæans and the Christians, did in no way harass the Mandæans.

Before coming to the subject of the similarities, I will say a few words as to who the Mandæans were.

II

WHO ARE THE MANDÆANS ?

Dr. Brandt thus speaks of these people:—"The Mandæans claim our interest not only as being a separate surviving branch of the Semitic stock, but also on account

of their religion, their language, and their sacred literature. Besides the records of their religious teaching and their religious poetry, that literature includes fragmentary remains and revisions of ancient Gnostic speculation and myth. Adherents of the Mandaean faith, either as large communities, or as distinct family groups, were to be found some forty years ago—and may perhaps still be found—in cities and smaller market towns on the lower Euphrates, the lower Tigris, and the rivers which water the eastern 'Iraq al-'arabi and the adjacent Persian province of Khūzistān (Arabistān). It is, indeed, necessary for them to live in the neighbourhood of rivers, since immersion in flowing water is an essential, and certainly the most characteristic feature of their religious practice."¹ Rev. Taylōr, though he has some objections of his own, thus gives the view of many continental scholars: "The suggestion, which has appeared to a number of continental scholars, is that in course of time this sect migrated to the lower courses of the Euphrates, and that those beliefs of an originally Jewish-Gnostic character combined with Babylonian-Persian ideas to form a syncretism which reached its summit in the Parsee doctrine of the King of Light."² Rev. Taylor adds that "the interest of John the Baptist has the appearance of a later development."³

They are a handful of people among the large population of the Euphrates valley. At one time, they formed a large sect, but are now reduced to a small number. They live mostly in Southern Babylonia near Basrah and in Bāgdād and in Dizful and Shūster in Khūzistān. They are also known as Sabians and Nasoræans or St. John's Christians. They are spoken of as "an Oriental sect of great antiquity, interesting to the theologian as almost the only

1 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 380, col. 1.

2 Hibbert Journal of April 1930, p. 542.

3 *Ibid.*

surviving example of a religion, compounded of Christian, heathen and Jewish elements on a type which is essentially that of ancient Gnosticism."¹ Among the heathens, the writer seems to include the Zoroastrians also.

The Mandæans are a very old sect. The script of their language is said to belong to the first century² A.C. ; so, they must have existed as a separate people or tribe long before Christ. Professor Kessler speaks of them as "an Oriental sect of great antiquity"³

The Mandæans are something like the remnants of a lost tribe. They were "a forgotten people" till late "in the 16th century, when the attention of Europe was drawn to them by the Portuguese, who then "dominated the Indian ocean, establishing themselves securely at Goa on the Indian and at Muscat on the Arabian coast, and in the harbours of Ceylon".⁴ When the Portuguese established themselves in the Persian Gulf, the Jesuits, who founded missions there, discovered after a stay at Basra, that these people, known also as Sabbi or Sabeans "held Jo'h'n the Baptist in honour and baptized⁵ their children, and so came to believe that this baptistic people were already semi-Christians and needed only a little instruction in order to become good Catholics." The Jesuits tried to convert them into Christianity, but, not succeeding to do so,

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., Vol. 15, p. 467, col. 2.

2 Revd. James Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics, *op. cit.*, p. 386, col. 2.

3 Encycl. Britannica. *op. cit.*, p. 467, col. 2.

4 Revd. James Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics, *op. cit.*, p. 391, col. 1.

5 The word is not to be understood in the sense of Christian baptism, but as a kind of sacred bath.

"induced the *pasha* to order the Sabbi, under threat of fines or bodily penalties, to attend the Roman Catholic place of worship.....In this way the work of conversion was set on foot, supported, however, by doles of food and clothing to the children of the poorer Mandæans."¹ As said by Dr. Kraeling, "Once the curiosity aroused by the initial discovery of the Mandæans had been satisfied, they ceased to be a subject of discussion, remaining in this condition of disregard some two centuries. Travellers² in the Orient occasionally reported that they continued to exist, compends continued to mention them among the *curiosa* which compends will mention, but that was about all. Only the new impetus given to Oriental studies in the nineteenth century brought the Mandæans to the fore."³

At one time, they formed a large tribe or sect, but are now reduced to a small number by per-
 Their population. secution. In the 16th century, when first discovered, their population amounted to 15,000 people. According to Dr. Brandt, in 1875, their total number came to about 560 families with 10 priests. Including a few other settlements in Turkish and Persian territories, their number came to 4,000 persons of whom 1,500 were males.⁴ "Enforced privations, military conscription and deportation, all imposed by a horribly misguided religious zeal, ushered in a period of suffering which decimated its numbers to such an extent that to-day

1 Rev. Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, p. 391.

2 I had the pleasure of being in Bagdad for 10 days from 21st October to 30th October 1924, and of visiting from there, Babylon, Taq-i Khusrô (near Ctesiphon), Kerbella, Kadhimein and Nезд. I regret that I missed the opportunity of making personal inquiries about them when there, where they are mostly said to be artisans.

3 *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

4 Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 392, col. 1.

the sect is in the last stages of the process of disintegration."¹
They now form about 200 families.

According to Dr. Brandt,² "In the Mandæan dialect, *Manda* is a by-form of *maddâ* or *middâ*,"
The Derivation of their name. a noun in their dialect, derived from a root meaning, to know. *Mandâ d'hayyê*, "the knowledge of life". Here, the root of the word *manda* may be taken to be something akin to the old Aryan root *man* (Av. 𐬨𐬀, Sans. मन), to think; and the root of the word *hayyê* may be taken to be something like the old Aryan root *ah* (Av. 𐬀𐬎, Sans. अस, Lat. *esse*, Fr. *être*, Pers. هستن), to be, to exist, to live.

The Mandæans speak Arabic or Persian,³ "but the language of their sacred books is an Aramaic dialect.... written in a peculiar character suggestive of the old Palmyrene."⁴ Dr. Brandt says on the authority of Noëldeke that the language is "the form of Aramaic which developed in Lower Babylonia."⁵ Again, "Noëldeke notes that the Mandæan script bears a fairly close relation to the earliest form of Pahlavî, especially the so-called Chaldaeo-Pahlavî."⁶ The script of their language "has the advantage of expressing the vowel-sounds by letters and does not require diacritical signs."⁷ So, in this point, it resembles the script of the Avesta language.

1 Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 49, No. 3, September 1909, p. 196

2 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, op. cit., p. 382.

3 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XV, p. 467, col. 2.

4 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, p. 381, col. 1.

5 Ibid., p. 386, col. 1, n. 1.

6 Ibid. p. 381, col. 1.

It is the question of their religion that principally drew the attention of European visitors and scholars towards them. They inquired as to whether they had more of Jewish or Christian or other elements in their religion.

The Mandæan and the Manichæan sects have many ideas in common, and both are believed to be "indebted to the same group of sources. A large proportion of the material common to both is explained by the mass of Parsi ideas in the Judæo-Christian groundwork of the doctrine of the king of light on the one hand, and in the theology of Mānī on the other".¹

Scholars see gnostic elements in the beliefs of the Mandæans as noted in their Genza which is one of their earliest writings. But we know that Zoroastrianism or Parsiism had influenced the Gnostics. As said by Dr. Spiegel, Parsiism "largely contributed to the opinions of the Gnostics and Manichæans".² Dr. Bigg³ has well pointed out the influence of Mazdaism upon the beliefs of the Gnostics, who are spoken of, as it were, as the first Free-masons and even as the first Christian theologians.⁴ So, one may say that even in the influence of Gnosticism, there may be traces of Zoroastrian elements.

In the Mandæan books, Enos is associated with Adam as a "messenger of the true religion" and as Adam's "auxiliary". "He proclaims the true religion, causes three hundred and sixty (or three hundred and sixty-five) 'disciples' to go forth from Jerusalem and ascends to the Life, by whom

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 385, col. 2.

² *Journal*, B.B., Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV, p. 220.

³ *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, by Dr. Bigg, p. 52 *et seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

(his father) he is charged to destroy the city and does so in the form of a white eagle—corresponding to the white falcon in Bundahishn (XIX, 23, S.B.E., Volume V (of 1880), p. 71 f.). In all these acts, Enos has, at his disposal, a cloud, in which he dwells; and from its matter he fashions the body in which he appears upon the earth as a man..... In the closing period of the Genzá literature the Mandæans began to depict the cloud of Enos in conformity with the Parsi conception of the Garden of Yima.”¹ Though all this account is not on all the fours, of what is said of Yima Khshaêta or Jamshed, it seems, that some of it was influenced by what was said of the Persian king in the Parsi Vendidad and elsewhere. The cloud in the above story of Enos replaces the *Vara* of Jamshed. The story of the white eagle reminds us of Jamshed’s helpmate, the bird Vish-karipta.²

When one speaks of their religion, one must make a distinction between their old beliefs and their later beliefs as affected by the influence of Christianity in later times, an influence which has led to their being spoken of as “St. John’s Christians”. Originally, they hated both the Hebrews and the Christians. The question which led Mr. Kraeling to write his article in the Journal of the American Oriental Society is this: “Have we in the religious tradition and thought of the Mandaic sect the key to the origin and development of the conception of redemption as it found expression in nascent Christianity and in Hellenistic syncretism?”³

In the first place, we find that the Mandæan sect cannot be a Jewish sect. According to Dr. Brandt in the final

1 Hastings’ Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 384, col. 2.

2 Vendidad II, 42.

3 Journal of the American Oriental Society, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

sections of the sect's "two most notable documents.....the Messiah, the prophet of the Jews, is actually described as a leader among the wicked spirits who make the human race abandon the true religion".¹ We read: "The study of these Mandaic texts at once showed that it was incorrect to think of the Mandeans as a Christian sect, or to speak of them as 'Christians of St. John'. For, though in their mythological outlook they differed but slightly from such as Mani, who none the less styled himself 'an apostle of Jesus Christ', there existed a fundamental difference between the Mandeans and all those groups properly or improperly designated in the past as Christian sects, namely this, that they definitely rejected Jesus, considering him to be the very impersonation of all that is evil and deceitful. To the Mandeans, Jesus is the Meshiha daggala, the false or lying Messiah, the Antichrist, the offspring of the Evil Spirit herself."² In short, he is considered to be "a deceiver".³ We thus see that the Mandæans are neither a Christian sect nor a Jewish sect.

They are not even a Mahomedan sect, because they have been persecuted from time to time by Mahomedans. They were not their Mahomedan rulers and it is this continued persecution that has reduced their number.⁴ We read:—"In Mesopotamia they represented a

1 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, p. 384, cols. 1-2.

2 Journal Am. O. Sty. *op. cit.* p. 197.

3 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 384.

4 It seems that they were and are in Babylonia what the Kaffirs were in the territories of Afghanistan upto a few years ago when Amir Abdur Rehman invaded their country and forced them to turn Mahomedans. The country of Kaffirstan, including the districts of Wakhan and Shignap, contained, about five to seven hundred years ago, a number of Zoroastrians. According to Col. Gordon, the ruins of three old Zoroastrian forts are still seen there (Gordon's "Roof of the World," p. 14). Lieut. Wood also refers to the rule of

many other Gnostic faiths, shows that in the Mandaic theology we are not dealing, as bar K'honi thought, with one of those artificial and arbitrary convictions common to the later stages of the Gnostic movement, but with a religion that wells up directly and spontaneously out of the subsoil of Oriental religious genius, and that may therefore well belong to the very beginning of the Gnostic era."¹ I think that this subsoil of Oriental religious genius is specially that of Zoroastrianism. There are two classes of beliefs, *viz.*, (1) pure religious belief, *i.e.*, belief about Gôd and His powers, etc., and (2) religious belief, associated with manners and customs, etc. Of these two, in the case of the first, one can find a little difference between Zoroastrian belief and Mandaic belief about God. There may be little influence of Zoroastrianism. But, in the case of the second, *viz.*, religious manners and customs, I think there is an extraordinary similarity between the Mandæans and the Zoroastrians.

Though the Mandaic scriptures "are replete with echoes of Old Testament tradition" and though "Christian thought and practice helped to mould Mandaic belief", they show "enmity towards Jews and Christians alike". Mr. Kraeling calls this "a peculiar problem". But this does not seem to be so "peculiar". They had a later polish or varnish of Jewish and Christian thoughts, but most of their beliefs were their own original which they loved and cherished. We have a parallel of this kind in our own country. Many Indians have received the traits of the Western civilizations, spoken of at times as "European polish" or "American polish". But, in spite of that, there are a number of people who are Indian from their core, from their heart of hearts, and, liking what is their own, run down Western Civilization.

¹ Journal of the American Oriental Society, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

Now then, if the Mandæans of the Euphrates Valley were neither a Jew, nor a Christian, nor a Mahomedan sect, what were they in their belief? In determining this question, one important, I may say the most important, point is, that the Mandæans ran down in their writings, as said above, the Hebrews, the Christians and the Mahomedans, but not the Zoroastrians by whom also they were surrounded in their country, and with whom they must have come into very great contact. Why did they not run down Zoroaster and the Zoroastrians? This is a very significant question, and the reply, in my view, seems to be, that originally they may be Zoroastrians or semi-Zoroastrians. Like the Manichæans, they were a sect of, and offshoot from, the Zoroastrians. They were one of the several people of the Euphrates Valley, a Babylonian people, who may have taken up Zoroastrian belief, manners and customs.

Again, according to Dr. Brandt, "the Sasanians persecuted the Manichæans and the Christians..... but they spared.....the peaceable Mandæans."¹ One reason was that they were a contented people never interfering in politics. But another reason, and that an important one, seems to be that they had too much in their beliefs, customs and manners, which was common with the Sasanian Zoroastrians.

According to Dr. Brandt, certain portions of their Genzâ, which were latterly added, refer to their persecution at the hands of the Arabs. Referring to the Arab conqueror, their writing says:—"The whole earth is made subject to his throne"; to his followers all things fall a prey; 'day after day they make war and

¹ Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, *op. cit.*, p. 388, col. 2.

shed blood, and are ever an oppression to the tribe of the souls and to the great family of the Life'; 'and there are also many souls of the great family of the Life, who go over to them and deny the name of the Life...'.¹ Dr. Brandt adds:—"It must have been about this period in the 7th or 8th century A.D. that most of the Mandæans having reached the limits of endurance, gave way before the Muslim Arabs, and migrated from Babylonia to the adjacent districts of Persia. It is possible that the minority, as found later on the Euphrates and Tigris, had for a time ostensibly adopted Islam, or that they concealed themselves among the adjoining marshes."²

III

THE SIMILARITY OF MANY OF THEIR BELIEFS, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS WITH THOSE OF THE ZOROASTRIANS.

I will now examine the various subjects of similarity between the religious beliefs, manners and customs of the Mandæans and those of the Zoroastrians. I will speak of this subject under the following heads :—

- (I) Their Religious Writings, Prayers, etc. Their Creed. Godhead, Creation, Destiny of the soul.
- (II) Their Baptimal lustrations. Respect for running waters.
- (III) Their Priesthood. The Status of the Priests, Initiation, etc.
- (IV) Their Calendar.
- (V) Soul and the Death-rites of the Departed Soul.
- (VI) Their Communion.
- (VII) Miscellaneous Beliefs and Customs.

IV

(I) THEIR RELIGIOUS WRITINGS, PRAYERS,
ETC. THEIR CREED. GODHEAD, CREATION,
DESTINY OF THE SOUL.

I will, at first, speak of the Mandæan religious writings¹—(A) The three classes of Religious Writings. (B) Writings for the Dead and (A) Their three Living; (C) Introductory and Postscript Classes. passages; (D) Tractates; (E) Possession of religious Mss. as act of charity etc. We gather from different accounts that their writings were of three kinds:

- (a) The Great book (*Sidra rabba*).
- (b) The Small book.
- (c) The Drâsê.

This division reminds us of the three classes in which, in later times, the Avesta are divided, viz., (1) the Great (*Buzêrg*), (2) the Small (*Khordeh*) and (3) *Darushtah*.²

We read:—"The most valuable... ..the most ancient portions of Mandæan literature are collected in the voluminous *Sidrâ rabbâ* (Great Book) or *Genzâ* (Thesaurus), which is divided into a right and left part. This consists largely of theological, mythological, ethical and historical treatises, which are interspersed with revelations, prayers and hymns¹.....It cannot be doubted that these documents of the *Genzâ* which speak authoritatively of Mandæan thought and sentiment were composed prior to Muhammad's day, and such later redaction—often far from competent—as they have undergone was the work of Mandæan priests who were concerned to transmit in some form to future generations the greatest possible amount of their ancestral literature."³ One can

1 Hastings' Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics, *op. cit.*, p. 380, cols. 1-2.

2 This name seems to include all later writings like the *piranga*, etc.

3 Hastings' Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics, *op. cit.*, p. 380, cols. 1-2.

say the same thing as above about the Avesta and Pahlavi writings of the Parsis. Prof. Kessler also speaks of the Mandaean books as "fragments of very various antiquity derived from an older literature".¹ I think that, that older literature may either have been a foreign literature, *viz.*, the Avesta literature or, if their own literature, it must be a literature much influenced by Avestaic writings.

Of the above fragments derived from an older literature, Prof. Kessler says:—"Of these the (b) The Small Book. largest and most important is the *Sidrâ rabbâ* or 'Great Book', known also as *Ginzâ*² (treasure), consisting of two unequal parts, of which the larger is called '*yamina*' (to the right hand) and the smaller '*s'málâ*' (to the left hand) because of the manner in which they are bound together. In Peterman's Edition the former occupies three hundred and ninety-five large quarto pages and the other only one hundred and thirty-eight. The former is intended for the living; the latter consists chiefly of prayers to be read at the burial of priests. As regards doctrine, the work is exhaustive; but it is characterized throughout by diffuseness, and often by extreme obscurity, besides being occasionally self-contradictory, as might be expected in a work which consists of a number of unconnected paragraphs of various authorship and date. The last section of the right-hand part (the 'Book of Kings') is one of the older portions, and from its allusion to 'the Persian and Arabian kings', may be concluded to date from somewhere between 700 and 900 A.D. Many of the doctrinal portions may in substance well be still older and date from the time of the Sassanids."³

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 468, col. 1.

2 The word *Genzâ*, which means treasure, seems to be similar to Pahlavi *ganj* گنج and Persian *ganj* گنج, treasure.

3 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 468, col. 1.

- "The Drâsê is a collection of tractates, many of which have come down in an incomplete, or, at least, in a corrupt, textual form."¹
- (c) The Drâsê.

The above division into Great and Small reminds us, as said above, of the Parsi division of their sacred writings as (1) Buzôrg Avesta, *i.e.*, Larger Avesta, (2) Khordeh Avesta, *i.e.*, the Smaller Avesta, (3) Darushtah Avesta. The Khordeh Avesta is a more common term; not so the Buzôrg Avesta. The Irani Patet² speaks of three divisions: (1) Avestâ-i Jamash (جامش), (2) Avestâ-i Khordeh (خورده) and (3) Avestâ-i Darushtah (دراشت, *i.e.*, the perfect Avesta)³. The Drâsê of the Mandæans seems to resemble the "Darushtah" of the Parsis. It is "a collection of tractates, many of which have come down in an incomplete, or at least, in a corrupt textual form."⁴ The same may be said of the "Avesta Darushtah" as referred to by some.

We saw above that the Mandæan *Sidrâ rabbâ* (the Great Book) "is divided into a right and a left part"⁵. It is said that "the right hand pages are for the living and the left hand for the dead"⁶. If it is meant thereby, that writings, consisting of prayers, etc., on the right hand, are to be recited for living persons, and those on the left for the dead, we may say that, though among the

1 Hastings' Encycl. of. Rel. and Ethics, VIII, p. 380, col. 2.

2 The Pazend Texts by E. K. Antia, p. 142, l. 18.

3 Vide Darmesteter's Zend Avesta, Tome III, p. 176, n. 6. He quotes a writer who says that according to some, *chumsh* is Khordeh Avesta. Some speak of the Khordeh Avesta as Drushta. According to others, Khurdeh is small, and Drushta, the larger Avesta, and *chumsh* is the Avesta of minor prayers like those for Gômêz, Bâshâsp, Ghosal, etc.

4 Hastings' Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 380, col. 2.

5 *Ibid.* p. 380, col. 1 n.

6 *Ibid.* col. 2 n.

Zoroastrian scriptures, there is nothing like right and left, we have prayers etc. for the living (*zindeh-ravān*, i.e., the living souls) and for the dead (the *anoshēh-ravān*, i.e., the immortalized souls). Though not divided as those of the right or the left, there are some parts of the scriptures that are recited for both, the living and the dead, with a slight difference in a small formula recited at particular parts of the scriptures.¹ Again, there are a number of parts of the scripture which are recited for the living alone.

If I rightly understand what is said by Dr. Brandt², there are, in the Mandaean prayers, certain *introductory* passages and *postscripts* which are common to many prayers. If so, the Zoroastrian scriptures also have the same. All the Niyāishes and Yashts begin with the same introductory portion (*pa nām-i Yazdān* etc.) and end with the same postscript (*ahmāi raēscha* and *roz nek-nām*). There are, in all, about 29 prayers of that kind—5 Niyāishes and about 24 Yashts.

We read:—"The most valuable from the historical point of view, and—at least in the main—the most ancient portions of the Mandaean literature are collected in the voluminous *Sidrā rabbā* (Great Book) or *Genzā* (Thesaurus) which is divided into a right and left part. This consists largely of theological, mythological ethical, and historical treatises, which are interspersed with revelations, prayers and hymns . . . As regards the narrative tractates we can distinguish between those of more and those of less importance, the latter having taken their materials or their themes from the former. In some we find fragments

(C) The Introductory and Postscript passages in both.

(D) Their Historical portion and The Tractates.

1 *Vide* for the formula and its explanation, my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 383-4.

2 Hastings Dict. *op. cit.* p. 380, col 1, last lines.

interpolated from older works, not now extant, while not a few are a mere patch work of remnants of what they originally contained."¹ Much of what is said here by Dr. Brandt about the framework etc., of the Mandæan writings applies to the Avesta writings.

Dr. Brandt says :—"There are still serious obstacles to a complete translation of the Mandæan writings. These contain a large number of expressions which we can interpret only conjecturally or else not at all; some appear to be Persian in origin, but there are also a number of genuine Aramaic words whose usage in other dialects does not suit their Mandæan context, while in other cases the context does not clearly show which modification of meaning has been developed from their etymological root. In some instances, again, it is obvious that words and phrases have acquired a theological or ritual sense which is not clearly determinable."² I think a further study of Mandæan religious texts and a correct translation will be of use and interest to both, the Mandæan students and Avesta students. The attempts to understand the Mandæan texts with the help of the knowledge of Zoroastrian religion, manners and customs will throw much light both on the Mandæan religious writings and on the Avesta.

The final redaction of the Mandæan writings must have taken place on Persian soil. We read :
 Final redaction of the Genzâ writings of the Mandæans. "Persian loan-words are found even in the oldest Mandæan texts," but names like Yâwar ('friend', 'helper'), Sâm and Bahrâm (Verethraghna) could hardly have come into vogue among the Mandæans except on Persian soil".³
 From such facts, "it seems highly probable that most of

1 Hastings' *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, p. 381, col. 2, ll. 31 ff.

2 *Ibid.* col. 2, ll. 25 ff.

3 *Ibid.* p. 389, col. 2.

the tractates in the Genza underwent their final redaction, *i.e.*, attained their present form, in the Persian province".¹

We read of the Mandæans:—"The transcribing of their sacred books, and even a monetary contribution to the expense of such labour, ranked among them as a work which could purge from sin; hence, not merely priests, but also a considerable number of laymen, possessed copies."²

(E) Possession of Religious Writings, an act of charity. The same was the case among the Zoroastrians, even of Bombay, upto about 50 years ago. This is evident from the colophons of their Mss.—Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian—on religious subjects. It was an act of righteousness on the part of a religious-minded person to get Mss. of scriptures or other religious subjects written. Such Mss., when read by others, were believed to bring spiritual benefit to the owners. The scribes, in their colophons, requested their readers to pray, when they read the Mss., for them and for the owners who got them written by them.

(a) For example, take the colophon on an old Ms. of the Pahlavi Bundehesh, the Ms. DH, which belonged to the late Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp. Therein the scribe requests his readers to pray for him. He says: "Le râi..... pavan patitigih akhar min vadard arzânik yakhsund",³ *i.e.*, "They may count me after my death as one deserving *patets* (prayers of repentance) on my behalf", meaning, that they may pray to God to pardon his faults.

(b) For another instance, take the case of the colophon of an old Ms. of the Yaçna and Visparad by Rustam Gustâsp Ardeschîr Gustâsp, belonging to the Mulla Feroze Library, written in 1018 Yazdazardi (1649 A.C.). The scribe says therein that he wrote the Ms. in the sacred

¹ *Ibid.* p. 390.

² *Ibid.* p. 380, col. 1.

³ *Vide* my Preface in "The Bundahishn" edited by T. D. Anklesaria with an Introduction by B. T. Anklesaria (1908), p. IV, ll. 8-9.

memory of his son Behram. He requests his readers to remember (or pray for) his and his son's souls.¹ (c) For a third instance, take the colophon of the Ms. of some Avesta writings by Dastur Darab, the teacher of Anquetil du Perron. Dastur Darab says in his colophon: "Kola aish mûn barâ karitunt skûm va salâm avar li barâ vâdand," i.e., "Let any one who reads (this book) send me good wishes and blessings."²

We read of their theological system:—"The foundation of the system is obviously sought in Gnosticism and more particularly in the older type of that doctrine which obtained in Mesopotamia and Further Asia generally. But it is equally plain that the Ophite nucleus has from time to time received very numerous and often curiously perverted accretions from Babylonian Judaism, Oriental Christianity and Parsism, exhibiting a striking example of religious syncretism."³ I think that the accretion from Parsism is to a larger extent than from other sources.

Dr. Brandt says:—"Mandæan writers of.....the 4th or 5th century A.D. conjoined a strictly monotheistic Gnosis, which, from its leading theme, we shall call the doctrine of the king of light"⁴ He quotes a writing which says:—"One is the lofty king of light in his kingdom, lord of all heavenly beings, source of all good, crea-

1 Vide my Gujarati paper "Old Parsee Scribes" (પુરાણી પારસી લેખકો) in my work, "Dnyân Prāsārak Essays," Part IV, pp. 186-7.

2 Vide *Journal Asiatique* of Jallies About 1911 and Mai-Juin 1913. Vide my paper "Anquetil du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Shiraz," *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 387. Vide my "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab," pp. 72-73.

3 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 18, p. 476, col. 2.

4 Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 383, col. 1.

tor of all forms, of infinite greatness and goodness, highly extolled by the 'kings,' or 'angels,' who stand before him and inhabit his paradise.... A complete contrast to all this is seen in the realms of darkness with their black waters, and with a king who..... is hideous."¹ All this is well nigh the same as that which we read in the Pahlavi Bundešesh of the Parsis which says:—"The Great Ahura Mazda, out of His all-wisdom and goodness, was matchless in Light, in the Light which is called Boundless (or Endless). Light is the place and mansion of Ahura Mazda. What is called Religion is the all-wisdom of God and His matchless goodness."² Further on, we read of some parallels between the Mandaean teachings and Manichæism. We read: "In the verifiable parallels, the Mandaean versions seem to be secondary, and we must infer that both sides are indebted to the same group of sources. A large portion of the material, common to both, is explained by the mass of Parsi ideas in the Judæo-Christian groundwork of the doctrine of the king of light on the one hand and in the theology of Mânî on the other."³ Dr. Brandt says about their concept of God:—"The monotheistic concept of the king of light, as set forth, with marked Parsi colouring in the Genza, must be originally Jewish or Judæo-Christian."⁴ Dr. Taylor says:—"The monotheistic teaching centres round the doctrine of 'the King of Light'. "⁵ I think this concept is originally Zoroastrian. In the Avesta, God, Ahura Mazda, is often spoken of as

1. *Ibid.*, col. 2.

2. Rendered into English from my Gujarati translation of the Bundešesh, p. 3. *Vide* my paper "The Germ of the Evolution Theory in old Iranian Literature" (Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society, Vol. XII, pp. 1003-1014. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, p. 31. *Vide* West, S.B.E., V, p. 5).

3. Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics, *op. cit.*, p. 385, col. 2.

4. Hastings' Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics, Vol. 8, p. 384, col. 1.

5. Hibbert Journal of April 1930, p. 535.

raëvant and *kharênanghvant*, i.e., Brilliant and Radiant.¹

Just as they speak of the "King of Light," they speak of the "Place of Light."² This Place or Their "Place of Light." Abode of Light is the same as Avesta *garônmâna* (𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬨𐬀) "the House of

Light" (from *gar* 𐬔𐬀, to shine). Dr. Taylor says:—"This 'King of Light' teaching recalls similar strains of thought in Parseeism, Judaism, Jewish—Christianity and Manichæism."³

Among the Mandæans, "the Primal Light unfolds himself by five great branches, viz., 'the highest purest light, the gentle wind, the harmony of sounds, the voice of all the æons, and the beauty of their forms,' all these being treated as abstractions and personified. Out of the further development and combination of these primary manifestations, arise numerous æons (Uthré, 'splendours') of which the number is often stated to be three hundred and sixty. They are divided into a number of classes (kings, hypostases, forms, etc.); the proper names by which they are invoked are many, and for the most part obscure, borrowed doubtless, to some extent, from the Parsee angelology."⁴ Much of this reminds us of the Zoroastrian hierarchy. The Primal Light of the Mandæans reminds us of the Anagra Raochão, the Endless Light, the Beginningless Light, the Infinite Light, which is the very primary emanation of, or from, God Himself.⁵ Ahura Mazda, in His Primal Infinite Light, stands at the head. The seven Amesha Spentas, who all are His productions,⁶ His "primary manifesta-

1 Yt. I. 2 Hibbert Journal of April 1930, p. 535. 3 *Ibid.*

4 Encycl. Brit., 9th Ed., Vol. 15, *op cit*, p. 468, col. 2.

5 Vide my Gujarati essay "Asar Roshni" (Anagra Raochão) in my "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects," Part IV, pp. 105-21.

6 Ormazd Yasht, 25 "Idha asti mana dâma".

tions" stand next in the hierarchy. Then follow the Yazatas (lit., Beings worthy to be invoked or honoured). Then follow the Fravashis or Farohars, the Guiding Spirits. The Yazatas of this hierarchy seem to correspond with the above æons of the Mandæans. The Yazatas are as numerous as the æons. According to the Khorshed Nyaish and Yasht, they are hundreds and thousands (*satemcha hazangremcha*). They are physical or earthly (*gaêthya*) as well as spiritual (*mainyava*). Some of them are invoked by proper names. They give their names to the 360 days of the year. This number corresponds to the number of æons among the Mandæans, as referred to above. The last intercalary five days of the year also are named, their names being the names of the five Gathas.

The following commandment is said to have been contained in their religious writings:—

(c) Efficacy of the mention of the Name of God. "I say unto you, all who give heed to the name of God: In your standing and your sitting, in your going, coming, eating, drinking, resting, lying—in all your doings name and glorify the name of the lofty king of light."¹ This injunction as rendered by Rev. Taylor runs thus:—"In all your standing, sitting, going, coming, eating, and drinking, in all your work, name and praise the name of the high King of Light."² Compare with this commandment, the commandment in the Ormazd Yasht (Yt. I, 16) the prayer in honour of Ahura Mazda Himself. There, God (Ahura Mazda) says to Zoroaster:—"O Spitama Zarathushtra! he, who, remembering these³ My names in this corporeal world, recites them loudly, every day and every night, while standing or sitting, while sitting or standing, while tying the sacred girdle or untying

1 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, p. 384, col. 1.

2 Hibbert Journal of April 1930, p. 585.

3 A list of the names is given in the above Yasht.

the sacred girdle, while going out of his place (or house), while going out of his town, while going out of his country, while going towards (another) country—if he recites these names loudly—he will not be harmed during that day, during that night, by the wicked-minded demon Aeshma; nor will he be injured by piercing weapons, nor by slings, nor by spears, nor by swords, nor by maces, nor by the touch of stones.”

In the matter of this mention of names, Rev. Taylor says:—“ But perhaps the most notable analogues (analogues to the songs of the Fourth Gospel) of all are those in which the solemn ‘ I-style ’ of the Fourth Gospel is employed.”¹ We observe this “ I-style ” much prevalent in the Ormazd Yasht (Yt. I) of the Parsis, where God Ahura Mazda, is represented as saying “ I am this and I am that ”. For example. we read : “ Baeshaza nâma ahmi, baeshazyô-tema nâma ahmi, âthrâva nâma ahmi, âthrava-tema nâma, ahmi,” i.e., I am, by name, ‘ the giver of health ’; I am by name ‘ the greatest giver of health ’; I am by name a fire-priest; I am, by name, a higher fire-priest, etc. We have such 53 recitals of “ nâma ahmi ”, i.e. “ I am by name,” in the Ormazd Yasht (Yt. I, 12-13).

3. Elements of the “Mandæan Faith. Some parallels to Zoroastrianism.

Dr. Kraeling gives the following as some elements of the Mandæan faith :—

- (a) The Idea of a primordial conflict.
- (b) The Idea of a heavenly primal man.
- (c) The Idea of the heavenly origin of the soul and its destiny.
- (d) The Idea of Redemption.

These Mandæan ideas are common with Zoroastrian ideas. I will here speak of them briefly.

1 The Hibbert Journal, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

The idea of a primordial conflict, found in the Mandaean scriptures, has its parallel in the conflicts referred to in the Bundelesh,¹ which also speaks of a kind of "conflict,"—a conflict between construction and destruction, good and evil. The conflict existed in connection with all the six classes of creation: (1) The Sky. (2) Water. (3) Earth. (4) Plants. (5) Animals represented by the primeval ox (Gavyôdad) and (6) Man, represented by Gayomard."²

(b) The heavenly primal man. Their idea of the primal man has a parallel in the Iranian Gaya Marethana of the Avesta, the Gayomard of the later books. He is the very first primitive being who, in modern scientific phraseology, is "the progenitor or ancestor of the common stock of human life (*gaya*)."³ This first primitive being was sexless. From Gayomard, the first primitive being, there descended 15 races which spread into different parts of the earth.³

(c) The heavenly Origin and Destiny of Soul. The Mandaean view of the origin and destiny of man seems to correspond with that of the Zoroastrians, according to whom the birth of a child is not a case of spontaneous generation. Its Fravashi or Spirit existed somewhere in the Heaven, and, on death, it will pass away to Heaven. Before crossing over to the other world, its actions in this world will be weighed in a balance, and, if its good actions will outweigh its bad actions, it will be

1 Chapters VI-X. Vide my Translation of the Bundelesh, pp. 24-35. The Grand Bundelesh speaks of ten conflicts. As said by me in the Preface of my Bundelesh, the Grand Bundelesh has added much matter, later on.

2 Vide my paper, "The Germ of the Evolution Theory in old Iranian Literature." Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, pp. 1008-14; Vide my "Anthropological Papers," Part IV, p. 35; S.B.E., Vol. V, Introduction, p. 35. 3 Ibid.

allowed to pass over to paradise. If both will weigh equal, it will have to go over to a place called the Hamestaghan, corresponding somewhat to the Christian purgatory. If the bad actions outweigh its good actions, it will go down into the abyss of hell. The whole edifice of man's moral structure rests upon the belief of the immortality of the soul¹. As said by Prof. Geiger, "nowhere.....does the belief in the future life after death stand out more prominently, nowhere are the ideas respecting it expressed more decidedly and carried out in all their details more fully, than among the Avesta people. Here the doctrine of immortality and of compensating justice in the next world forms a fundamental dogma of the whole system. Without it the Zoroastrian religion is in fact unintelligible."²

The Mandæan idea of Redemption seems somewhat to correspond to the Iranian idea. The

(d) Redemption. Zoroastrian view is that if you have done a wrongful act, you have to do two things to wash away the effect of that act: (1) To repent. There is a special prayer called *patet* (from *paiti*, Sans. *prati*, Latin *re*, back and 'i' to go), lit., going back. This corresponds to the *t'shûbât* of the Hebrews, which also means "going back"³ and to the *Patimokkha* of the Buddhists. (2) To do a righteous act to wash off, as it were, the consequences of the wrongful act (*kerfeh mozd gunâh guzârashnerâ kunam*).⁴

1 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 419-23.

2 Geiger's "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times". Translation by Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana, Vol. I, p. 98.

3 "The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter", by Revd. Cheyne, p. 369.

4 The word redemption (from *re* and *emere*, to buy), lit. means re-purchase. Compare with it the Pers. *geti-kharid* (lit., purchase of the world). A Parsee ceremony is known by this name (*Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," p. 433).

We read:—"Among the Mandæans, prayer was known

4. Prayers. Similarity with Zoroastrianism.

as 'compassion' or 'petition and praise'Believers must rise to pray thrice in the day-time, and twice during the night, but in other texts apparently of Judæo-Christian origin, the only prayers enjoined are one in the morning, one at the seventh hour of the day, and one before sunset; while in one passage.....prayer in the night-time is actually forbidden."¹ We read also of a 'man' who (like the archangel Michael among the Jews) "receives the prayers, and stores or preserves them in the treasure-house of the Life. In the later redaction of a regulation in the ethical code the believer is commanded to ask a blessing upon flesh-food before eating. The priests drew up short forms of prayer for these ordinances; but for protection against distress and danger they regarded prayer in the proper sense as less effective than a long series of recitations from the ancient books".

We gather from this passage several facts of similarity with Zoroastrianism:—

They had, like the Parsis, 5 times of prayers—3 during the day and 2 during the night.
(a) Similarity in the 5 periods of prayer. The times of prayers among the Parsees are known as *gahs*, ۵, i.e., times.

They are—

- (a) Hāvan, from very early morning when the stars begin to disappear;
- (b) Rapithwin, from 12 mid-day to 3 P.M.
- (c) Uziran, from 3 P.M. to night, when the stars begin to appear;
- (d) Aiwīruthrem, from nightfall to midnight;
- (e) Ushahin, from midnight to early dawn when the stars begin to disappear.

¹ Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, *op. cit.*, p. 387, col. 2.

What Dr. Brandt says in the above passage is significant, that the above division of the day of 24 hours in 5 periods is ancient and the later curtailment is due to Judæo-Christian contact. The older division is Zoroastrian.

As to what is said about the Mandæans, that, only in Payer at night one passage, "prayer in the night-times forbidden, is actually forbidden," it seems that we may find the reason in their custom of ablution which consisted of "immersion in flowing waters", as we will see a little later on. As such an ablution is not convenient or possible at night, prayers at night seem to be forbidden. Among the Parsis, prayers at night are not forbidden, but even now, fresh water required for midnight prayers and rituals is required to be brought in, in the preceding evening. I personally remember being advised by my parents, when I was a boy, to use as much less water as possible in washing at night. It is forbidden to recite during night the *Ardivisura Nyâish*, in honour of the Yazata presiding over water.

Corresponding to the Mandæan man, like the Archangel

(b) Their Registrar of prayers and the Zoroastrian Mithra.	Michael, who registers the prayers, we have in the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, Mithra ¹ , the angel of Light and Justice.
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(c) The treasure-houses among both.	The Mandæan "Treasure-house of the Life" in which the prayers are stored or preserved, corresponds to the Ganj (treasure) of Dadar Ohrmazd referred to in the Dibâcheh-e Afringân, where the worshipper says:— "Khesh yazashné kardedh-hom, darûn yashtë-hom, myazd
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¹ Vide my paper "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians. A Comparison" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VI, No. 5, pp. 237-53. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 173-90).

hamirānim, yō kardēk pa ganj-i Dādār Ahura Mazda rayomand khorehmand Ameshašpandan beresad", i.e., the Yazashne (prayer) which I have performed, the Darun (sacred bread) which I have consecrated, the Myazd which I celebrate,—may all these reach (i.e., be stored in) the treasure-house of the Brilliant and Shining Dādār Ahura Mazda and the Ameshašpands.²

The Mandaean commandment "to ask a blessing upon flesh-food" is similar to the Parsi (d) Asking of Blessing upon food. The Bāj of the Parsis. There are three kinds of such prayers of grace: (a) The great Bāj with the Barsam. This is recited by the priests who officiate in the inner circle of liturgies. (b) The great Bāj without the Barsam. This is recited by the priests at solemn meals. (c) The small Bāj recited by all—priests and laymen—at ordinary meals.³ It is this last class of Bāj which, corresponds to "the short forms of prayer" drawn up by the Mandaean priests.

5. The "series of recitations from the ancient books" said by the Mandæans "on certain occasions for protection against distress and danger" seem to be similar with the (e) Their Recitations on great occasions of Distress. The Jashans of the Parsis. Jashans celebrated by the Parsis on special occasions of distress, such as epidemics, war, scarcity of rain, etc.⁴ These Jashans were accompanied by the recital of the Yasna.

1 This corresponds to the Messagta of the Mandæans.

2 Vide my Lecture in Gujarati on "Ganj-i Dādār Ahura Mazda" (the Treasury of God) in my "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects," Part III, pp. 79-85.

3 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 371.

4 Ibid. pp. 46 et seq.

(II) THEIR BAPTISMAL LUSTRATIONS, ETC. THEIR RESPECT FOR RUNNING WATERS. .

The Mandæans' respect for running water, their belief about a celestial river, their baptismal lustrations have their parallels in Zoroastrianism.

We read "it is indeed necessary for them to live
(a) Respect for in the neighbourhood of rivers, since
Running water immersion in flowing water is an essential,
essential among and certainly the most characteristic,
both. feature of their religious practice."¹ According to
Prof. Kessler also "the neighbourhood of running water
for baptisms is essential."² If by "running water" is
meant "water provided by streamlets" we may say, that this
was, and even now is, held essential by Zoroastrians for
their ritual. Even now in India, a well, a date-palm and a
pomegranate tree are held essential for a Parsi Fire-temple.
There can be no Fire-temple without these three. Pipe-
water, supplied to the City of Bombay from a distant lake
by pipes, is regarded as unsuitable for religious ceremonial
purposes. Even last year, when Municipal authorities
wanted to fill up, or seal hermetically, existing wells in
Parsi houses, there were a number of protests against the
requirement, on the ground, that only the water of wells,
which are always provided by running subterranean
streamlets, can be used for ritual purposes.

We do not learn from the above writings about the Mandæans, why they held running water in respect. But it seems that that may be from the point of view of sanitation, viz., that such running water is more pure and more healthy. At least, we know that, that was, and is, the view of the Zoroastrians. We

1 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8,
p. 380, col. 1. 2 Encyclopædia Britannica, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

know, how, in the Khorshed Nyāish¹ (a hymn in honour of the sun), the rising of the sun in the morning is welcomed as purifying the flowing waters (*âpem tachintâm*), stream-waters (*âpem khānyām*), river or sea-waters (*âpem zarayanām*), and stagnant water (*âpem armaesh-tâm*). It was this respect for living waters that seems to have originated with them the idea of restricting sea-voyages. It seems that the idea first rose from the sanitary point of keeping pure, rivers, which supplied drinking water to hundreds and thousands. The classical writers refer to the Iranians' respect for rivers. Herodotus says:—"They (the Persians) never make water, nor spit, nor wash their heads in a river, nor defile the stream with urine, nor do they allow anyone else to do so."² Strabo says:—"The Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash nor bathe in it; they never throw a dead body nor anything unclean into it."³ The Vendidad (Chapter VI, 26-27) enjoined that if a Zoroastrian saw a rotten thing in running water, it was his duty to get into the water and remove the rotten thing. It is this view that leads Goethe to make the Iranian Testator, in his "Buch des Parsen", direct "a free course and cleanness" for waters of canals, streams, etc.⁴

It is said of the Mandæans, that "they were also required, however, to mark their brow with the living water, and likewise drink of it."⁵ Marking the brow with water, is seen

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- (b) Marking the Brow with living water among both.
- 1 Section 12.
 - 2 Herodotus, Book I, 138; Carey's Translation (Bohn's Classical Series, 1889), p. 62.
 - 3 The Geography of Strabo, Bk. XV, Chap. IV, 6. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 137.
 - 4 Vide my paper on Goethe's, 'Parsi-nameh' (Jour., B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXIV, pp. 66-95. Vide my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 141-42.),
 - 5 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, p. 387, col. 1.

even now among the Parsis; who, when they go to the sea-shore or to the bank of a river—a visit which they call *Avan Yazad Javān* (آوان یازد جَوَان)—apply the sea-water or the river-water to their brows. Not only that, but some carry the sea-water in small pots to their homes and present the pot before the relatives who could not go to the sea-shore. The relatives dip their fingers in the pot and apply the water to their brows. At times, they even sprinkle the water in the houses. I fully well remember going in my childhood and boyhood with my mother to the eastern sea-shore at Colaba and applying the sea-water to my brows and bringing it home to be sprinkled in the house.

In connection with the process of marking the "brow with the living water," we read that they ⁽⁵⁾ Partaking of a loaf, "partake of a loaf (the loaf is termed *pehta* 'opening,' 'unlocking'); and those who take part in these ceremonies have a share in the benign fountains of the better world".¹ This reminds a Parsi of a custom still prevalent, though not to the extent it was about 50 years ago. The custom was that on certain festive occasions, Parsi ladies went to the sea-shore and carried with them certain sweet breads and presented the offerings to the sea and then partook of them there or on returning home. These sweet offerings were, and are, known as *pori*, another form of the word *puri* (पूरी) which

1 *Ibid.*

2 Dastur Erachji Cursetji Pavri takes the Avesta word *perena* (Vendidad XIX, 40) for *puri*. He says: "We find *perena* named in the Vendidad as one of the 'delicious' eatables to be dedicated to the fire, and the now prevailing custom of making offerings of delicious eatables to the fire and water amongst Parsis, lends support to my humble attempt to interpret the Avesta phrase as I do. The dedications to fire and water are technically called by the names of *safara* and *palli* respectively" (Article, entitled "Ancient Ceremonies: Additions and Improvements made in them", in Dastur Hormadsji's Memorial Volume, pp. 185-186).

is "a raised wheaten cake fried in butter and oil."

"The Mandæans call every stream of running water

(d) The Belief about a Celestial river. The Jordan of the Mandæans and the Ardviçura of the Zoroastrians. Jordan, supposing that all running water comes down from heaven in the mountains of the north and flows over the earth until it enters the bowels of the earth through a great cleft."¹ Here, in the case of the Jordan, the great cleft is the Dead sea. Now, this reminds us of the Parsi view of the river Ardviçura which is spoken of as emptying itself in the sea Vourukasha. The Ardviçura is identified by some scholars with the Oxus and the Vourukasha with the Caspian.² The Jordan is to the Mandæans what the Ardviçura is to the Parsis.

The Mandæans believed that the Jordan, a terrestrial river, "descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains". The same is the case with the river Ardviçura. It also latterly began to be associated with the high heavens and to be believed as coming down through the Hukairya mountains.³ The name Ardviçura, though originally the name of a particular river, came to be identified with any collection of natural, running or flowing waters. It is usual to hear Parsis saying of their going to the banks of a river or the shore of a sea as going to Avân Ardviçura (અવં નદી કિનારે). A Parsi says his Ardviçura Niyāish or Ardviçura Yasht before any collection of natural, flowing, living water, whether the great Indian Ocean or the Arabian sea, whether a river or a lake, whether a streamlet or a well.

1 Journal of the American Oriental Society, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

2 Vide my Gujarati essay on "The Geography of the Avesta Times" (અવસ્તા ઝમાનાની ભૂગોળ). Vide my અવસ્તા ઝમાનાની ધરતી અને જલો, ભૂગોળ અને એકસાથે નામું, pp. 183 and 188.

3 Aban Yasht. Vide my Gujarati essay on Ardviçura Anahita. Vide my work "અનાહિત અને કૃષ્ણા".

While considering the question of their Palestinian origin, and the question, whether the
 (e) Their Baptis- Mandæans "are the disciples of John the
 mal Illustrations. Baptist", Mr. Kraeling thus speaks of their baptismal lustrations:—"That baptismal lustrations form one of the central, if not the central, element in Mandaic teaching and practice, will require no proof. Because of its centrality, it will undoubtedly refer to the very earliest stages of the Mandaic movement."¹ According to a German scholar, Prof. Reitzenstein, whom Mr. Kraeling quotes, "In the Mandaic act of Baptism, as known from its liturgy,..... we have something in the nature of a mystery-rite mediating forgiveness and mystical elevation into heaven, now transformed into a rite of initiation."² We further read:—"In the Mandaic liturgies..s.....we get a rite as mediating forgiveness and mystical elevation into heaven, all transformed into an initiatory practice."³ Mr. Kraeling adds:—"Personally we should be inclined to agree with Reitzenstein's general position that the key to the origin of Johannine and Christian baptism will be found in the religious practices of Palestinian baptist sects. By that, we do not mean that we must seek its prototype in India, Iran or even pure paganism.....That the Mandæans have something to contribute in this connection is more than possible."⁴ I think that a student of Zoroastrian beliefs, manners and customs can seek and see, to some extent, a prototype of the Mandæan baptismal lustration in the *nahn* and *Barëshnum*,⁵ the baptismal lustrations of the Zoroastrians.

1 Journal of the American Oriental Society, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 214-15.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 215.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 217.

5 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 95-101; 102-52.

According to Prof. Kessler, "By far the most frequent and important of the religious ceremonies is that of baptism (*masbúthá*) which is called for in a great variety of cases, not only for children but for adults, where consecration or purification is required, as for example, on all Sundays and feast days, after contact with a dead body, after return from abroad, after neglect of any formality on the part of a priest in the discharge of his functions. In all these cases, baptism is performed by total immersion in running water, but during the five days' baptismal festival the rite is observed wholesale by mere sprinkling of large masses of the faithful at once."¹ Now, we have parallels, among the Parsis, of almost all the features of the ceremonial bath referred to here.

Dr. Brandt says:—"The idea that the rivers descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains in the distant north and that their waters impart fresh energies to the pious who bathe in them—a naturistic element of belief retained by the Mandæans amid all the thoughts and fantasies subsequently acquired—was probably inherited from their ancestors. In explanation of that belief we would advance the conjecture that this Semitic people had not always lived among the lower courses of the rivers, but at an earlier period had dwelt in a locality much further north, and nearer the sources—in a district from which they could see, upon their northern horizon, huge mountains towering to the sky. We scarcely need to explain how these facts would provide a basis for the belief in question, and we can easily understand, too, how a people, if driven from their native region and compelled to ensure a miserable existence in their new abode, should seek, in conformity with the practice of their ancestors, i.e., by means of immersions, constantly repeated, to absorb the virtues

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 15, op. cit., p. 470, col. 1.

which the river brought from the higher world to the low-lying plains.....If, however, we set the theory aside as over-hazardous, we must be content to suppose either that the very simple religious ceremony of ablution had prevailed from primitive times among the country people of Lower Babylonia or that by some means or another it had spread to that district from Syria.”¹ Dr. Brandt, later on, says that “their ideas of the benefits to be derived from the bath of immersion underwent a process of refinement in conformity with the development of their theology.”² He also says:—“They condemn and vilify the Christian ceremony (of baptism), because it is performed, not in ‘living’, but in (or with) ‘cut off’ water.”³ Among the Parsis, for their above mentioned sacred baths of *nâhn* and *Bareshnôm*, not only “living water” of wells is required, but even that water is sanctified by some sacred water spoken of as *âw* (Pers. *âb*). The large quantity of well-water is sanctified by a few drops of the sacred water sanctified by the Nirangdin⁴ ceremony.

We gather the following details from the above account of the ceremonial washings of the Mandæans which all have their parallels among the Zoroastrians:—

- (i) The baptismal washing was required for children as well as adults.
- (ii) Required after contact with a dead body.
- (iii) Required after return from abroad.
- (iv) Required after neglect of any formality by a priest in the discharge of his functions.
- (v) They had an annual Baptismal Festival of 5 days when people went through a kind of lustration in a mass.

1 Epyc. of Religion and Ethics, p. 1, col. 386.

2 *Ibid.* p. 387, col. 1.

3 *Ibid.* col. 2.

4 *Vide* for this ceremony my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,” pp. 255-57.

- (vi) In the case of this annual mass lustration, in place of whole immersion in running water, there was a shortened process, *viz.*, a mere sprinkling of water.
- (vii) The Mandæan baptism is something like a mystery-rite mediating forgiveness and mystical elevation into heaven, now transformed into a rite of initiation.

All these particulars connected with Mandæan lustrations seem to have their parallels among the Zoroastrians in the purification rites of *nâhn* and *bareshnûm*.¹ The purification ceremony of the Bareshnûm seems to have played an important part in the religious rituals of the Zoroastrians of the Sassanian times and of the earlier Arab times. It is some new heretic views in the ritual and in the practice of observing the Bareshnûm that led Mânûshchihar, a high Pontiff, to write his Epistles to his brother Zâdsparam, the high priest of Sûkan, in the South of Kirmân.² I will speak here at some length about the above particulars of the Mandæan lustration and their parallels among the Zoroastrians.

Mandæan writings are said to hold that baptismal washings are necessary for children as well as adults. Among the Zoroastrians, a sacred bath, the *nâhn* is required for children who pass through the initiating ceremony of the *Naojote*. The adults go through this bath on various occasions, *e.g.*, (a) on marriage; (b) on

1 For full particulars of these rites, *vide* my papers on "The Purificatory Ceremonies, Rites and Customs". Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XI, pp. 162-85; 224-89; 364-75. *Vide* Chapter IV in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 86-255.

2 *Vide* Nâmakihâ-i Mânûshchihar, by Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar. *Vide* S.B.E., Vol. XVIII, p. 279 *et seq.*

the Farvardegan holidays at the end of the year; (c) the women go through it at the end of their period of accouchement; (d) on some other occasions when they think that they have come into contact with some impurities or failed to observe regularly some religious duties or observances.

Like the Mandæans, the Zoroastrians have to pass (ii) Required after contact with a dead body. The Zoroastrian view of this Washing, by Darmesteter, through ablutions and sacred baths if they have come into contact with a dead body, advertently or inadvertently. The old Zoroastrian view at the bottom of Zoroastrian lustrations, seems to be, as summed up by Prof. Darmesteter, as follows:—"The principle which governs the ceremonies of the first order is the fear of contagion, or, as the Avesta says, of the Druj Nasu, the Druj of Carrion. Death, that has once come, rests. The visible proof of it is given by the corruption which at once goes on in the body and spreads infection round about. It is represented in the form of a horrible fly, the fly which hovers over the corpses. All the ceremonies of this order can be summed up in two words, which are the same as sum up to-day all the prophylactic measures in the case of an epidemic: (1) to cut off the communication of the living with the centre of infection, real or supposed; (2) to destroy the centre itself."¹

Upto a few years ago, a Zoroastrian on return from long travels, even in the country itself, (iii) Required after return from abroad, went through the lustration of the *nâhn*. The reason seems to be that, while travelling, it is not possible to observe all religious regulations and rites; and so, the rite is a kind of repentance or

¹ I translate from Darmesteter's "Le Zend-Avesta," Vol. II, pp. 146-47. *Vide also, ibid.* Introduction, p. XII. Darmesteter has used for his observations, my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their origin and explanation" of which he has kindly spoken as "an excellent study" (un excellent étude).

asking for forgiveness.¹ We have a reference, in a writing about 300 years old, to the custom in the life of a great Parsi of Surat, Rustam Manock, who went from Surat, in the company of an English ambassador to the Court of Aurangzeb, and, on returning, went through the lustration.² Again, the old Parsi Panchayet of Bombay, whenever they forgave a person for his fault, asked him or her to go through this *nâhn* baptism.³

From the above point of view, the crossing of the sea was specially objected to. This prohibition was very old. Tacitus refers to it in the case of Tiridates (Tirdad), the Zoroastrian king of Armenia, who belonged to the priestly class. This king declined the invitation of the Roman Emperor Nero to go to Rome, to receive at his hands the crown of Armenia.⁴ Even a few years ago, four Parsi priests, who had crossed the sea to go to Aden to consecrate the Cowasji Dinshaw Adenwala Fire-temple there, were, on their return, prohibited from officiating at the inner liturgical services. On my return from Europe in 1889, I had to go through a purificatory ceremony as I was connected with a fire-temple.⁵ But, about 10 years ago, the priests of Naosari, the head-quarters of the Parsi priesthood, themselves resolved, at a public meeting of the Anjuman, to do away with this prohibition.

1 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", p. 149.

2 *Vide* my paper "Rustam Manock (1635-1721 A.C.), the Broker of the English East India Company (1699 A.C.), and the Persian Qisseh (History) of Rustam Manock. A Study," (Jour. B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 153. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers", Part IV, p. 253).

3 *Vide* my "History of the Parsi Panchayet," Vol. I, p. 149.

4 Works of Tacitus (the Oxford Translation), Vol. I, the Annals, Book XV, 24. *Vide* the translation of A. J. Church and N. J. Broadbent (1891), p. 296.

5 Prof. Darmesteter in his article "Un Mage en Paris", in a journal of Paris, mentioned my visit to Europe as something like a matter of surprise.

Among the Mandæans, a purification is required "after neglect of any formality on the part of a priest in the discharge of his functions." (iv) Required by a priest after neglect in the discharge of his functions. The same is the case with the Zoroastrian priesthood. For example, the following occurrences and observances vitiate the Bareshnām qualification and the priest is obliged to go through another purification: (1) Eating of food cooked by non-Zoroastrians; (2) Non-observance of the Baj which is a recital of prayers with ritual after several functions such as baths, meals, calls of nature; (3) Swearing or taking of oaths; and (4) Falling off of his turban, and some other breaches of observances.¹

The Mandæans had "an annual baptismal festival",² when most of them went through a kind (v) Their annual Baptismal Festival. of baptismal lustration or washing. This festival lasted for *five* days.³ It reminds a Parsi of the last *five*, out of the ten, days of the Parsi year, known as the Farvardegân days, or, in India, as Muktad days, during which many people go through a sacred bath known as *nâhn*.⁴ Menander Protector (b. about 550 A.C.), the Byzantine historian, who lived in the reign (582-602) of King Mauricius, speaks of these Farvardogân days as "Furdigan" days. According to him, King Noshirwan (Chosroes I) once postponed the reception of the Embassy of the Roman Emperor, as it had come during these festival days. According to Albiruni,⁵ these days were held very sacred. Of these 10 days, the last *five*, now

¹ Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 148-50.

² Encyc. Br., Vol. XV, p. 470, col 1.

³ Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, p. 380, col. 2.

⁴ Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 95-101.

⁵ Albiruni's "Chronology of Ancient Nations," translated by Sachau, p. 210.

It is said of the Mandæans, that ordinarily, " baptism

As to the whole mass of people seeking lustration, on these five holy days, the Mandæans seem to resort to a shortening process, viz., a mere sprinkling of water on the mass of people instead of individual immersion. The Parsi priests resorted to a kind of "shortening process" during the last five days when many laymen wanted sacred baths at one and the same time. It was in this way: Instead of getting the Patet or prayer of repentance recited individually, and instead of getting the Baj or prayer of grace for drinking the consecrated *gaomez* and eating the usual pomegranate leaf³ recited individually, the purifying priest

3 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,"

(*yozdâthragar*) got these prayers recited by a large number together.

As to the mere sprinkling of water instead of having a whole bath, we find that, that shortening process was, and is even now, resorted to by Parsis on other occasions. For example, it is forbidden, that Parsis should come into contact with a woman in accouchement or in menses. It seems that, formerly, when there was a strict observance of religious regulations, people, who accidentally came into such contact, had to go through a bath, if not a ceremonial bath, at least an ordinary bath. But, now-a-days a shortening process or substitute is resorted to, and the person who has so come into actual contact, has water sprinkled by another person on his body, and that is taken to be serving the purpose of a bath.

The mass lustrations of the Mandæans remind us of the wholesale lustrations of the Romans, among whom a whole community or village or city went through a common lustration process. The Zoroastrian purification latterly began to have the signification of a spiritual purification.¹

In the Mandæan baptism, "we have something in the nature of a mystery-rite, mediating forgiveness and mystical elevation into heaven, now transformed into a rite of initiation."² We have a somewhat similar view of the Zoroastrian Bareshnûm lustration among the Parsis. (a) That form of purification was believed to get for one, both forgiveness of sins and elevation into a higher state. At one time, both males and females passed through this form of puri-

1 *Vide* my paper "The Kashas of the Irânian Barashnûm and the Boundary Lines of the Roman Lustrum", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VIII, pp. 520-530. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Part I, pp. 330-339.

2 *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-5.

fication, which required 10 days' retreat with four baths. But latterly priests passed through these lustrations at the instance of the laymen, both men and women, and both for the living and the dead. (b) As among the Mandæans, so among the Zoroastrians, the Bareshnûm purification has been "now transformed into a rite of initiation". In the initiation into priesthood by the Nâvar ceremony, Bareshnûm purification plays a very important part.¹

(III) THEIR PRIESTHOOD. THE STATUS OF THE PRIESTS, INITIATION, ETC.

We read: "Upon their priests rested the duty of preparing and directing the public religious ceremonials, which were few and by no means sumptuous, as well as that of performing certain rites on behalf of individual members of the community. At these functions it was their regular task to recite a number of extracts from the sacred books. In the Mandæan religion, as in others, such recitations take the place of the incantations that are no longer permitted, and in conjunction with the religious rites they serve to effect or to ensure the salvation of the soul."² Prof. Kessler says:—"The chief depositaries of these Mandæan mysteries are the priests, who enjoy a high degree of power and social regard."³

The same was the case about the Zoroastrian priests of ancient Persia. In the division of the people, according to their professions, the Athravans, *i.e.*, the priests, stood in the first rank. The Rathaêstars (lit., those who stood in the chariots) or warriors came next. Then came the

1 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 220-207.

2 Hastings' *En cycl. of Religion and Ethics*, *op. cit.*, p. 380, col. 1.

3 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

agriculturists and the artizans. Jamshed (Yima Khshaêta) is said to have first made the division.¹ Ardeshir Babegan continued that division.² The Avesta refers to these divisions.³ The priesthood enjoyed some privileges. For example, they were given free medical advice by doctors. Their blessings served the purpose of fees. Of the Magis or priests in general, Porphyry says: "In Persia...those who are expert in the love of the divine, and who attend to its worship, are called Magians; for this, in the native tongue, is what is denoted by the word 'Magian'. This class is so important and so highly esteemed, among the Persians, that even Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had inscribed on his tomb, in addition to everything else, a mention of the fact that he had taught the magic art."⁴

According to Prof. Kessler, "the priesthood had three grades. The Shkandâ or deacon is generally chosen from episcopal or priestly families."⁵ Among Zoroastrians, priesthood is hereditary. The Avesta also speaks of three grades (*âthravanô thrâyaonô*) as observed in ancient Persia.⁶ In the present general division, also we find three grades: (1) The Aerpats or Ervads (*Avesta-aethra-paiti*). All the priests who have gone through the first initiation of Navarhood are known as such. (2) The Mobads (*Avesta mago-paiti*). They have passed also through the second

1 *Vide* Warner Brothers' Shah-nameh, p. 132.

2 *Vide* the Letter of Dastur Tansar (Jour. Asiatique, Neuvième Série, Tome III, Mars-Avril and Mai-Juin, 1894 issues).

3 *Aiwisruthrem Gâh*, 7.

4 "Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism," translated into English by Dr. Sherwood Fox and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton (Jour. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 14, p. 86). 5 *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

6 *Abân Yasht*, 86; *Behram Yasht*, 46.

initiation of Maratab and they only can officiate at the inner liturgical ceremonies. (3) The Dastur (Pahl. *dastōbar*) who is at the head of the priesthood.

Porphyry (233 to about 304 A.C.), a mediæval thinker, in his reference to Persians, also speaks of three divisions. Porphyry was one of the eminent disciples of Plotinus, a great religious philosopher, whose system of philosophy he is said to have popularized. His "earnest purpose" was said to be "to disseminate the true philosophy of life, to uproot false teaching—especially Christianity, to ennoble men and train them to goodness."¹ According to him, "the object of philosophy.....is the salvation of the soul." The origin and the blame of evil are not in the body, but in the desires of the soul. Hence the strictest asceticism (abstinence from flesh, and wine, and sexual intercourse) is demanded as well as the "knowledge of God".² He speaks thus of the threefold division in his *De Abstinencia* (IV, 16):—"According to Eubulus, who wrote an account of Mithras in many volumes, the Magians are divided into three orders—the first of which, comprising the most erudite, will not eat or kill any living thing, but cling to the early practice of abstaining from living beings; the second partake of animal flesh, but will not kill any domesticated animal; even the third order, so far like the other two, will not touch any and every animal. For all three orders believe that metempsychosis is true in the case of primordial existences, which belief they seem to illustrate in the mysteries of Mithras."³ What is said above, by Porphyry,

1 Article on Neo-Platonism in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 17, ninth ed., p. 337, col. 1.

2 *Ibid.*

3 "Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism," translated into English, by Dr. Sherwood Fox and Prof. Pemberton. *Jour. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 14 (1929), p. 86.

for the first class seems to be not correctly Zoroastrian. The Avesta does not say so. That may be true of a later Mithraic sect of the Zoroastrians; or, perhaps, as a member of the neo-Platonic sect, he has transferred to the first classes of the Iranian priests much of his own view. However, we find, that Porphyry refers to the fact, that there were three classes of the Zoroastrian priesthood.

According to Prof. Kessler, the Mandæan priests, especially those of the Shkandá or Deacon grade, "must be without blemish".¹ Even now, a Zoroastrian priest, officiating in the inner circle of liturgical services, is required to be free from physical blemishes. One, who is deaf and dumb (*yô asrut gaôshô vâ afraoaôchô vâ*) is debarred from a priestly function.² When the Abân Yasht (Yt. V, 92, 93) forbids the leper (*paêsa*), the blind, (*anda*, अन्दा), the deaf (*karena*), the hump-backed (*frakava*), one with crooked teeth (*vimi-tô-dantâna*), to participate in holy communion (*châshni*) it seems to refer to the officiating priest in the function. It speaks not only of physical blemishes but also of moral blemishes. The Aerpatastân also refers to such moral blemishes.³ Even one with a broken limb, or one who was bleeding, or one with spots on his body, was not allowed to officiate. Some Yashts even speak of Zoroastrians with leprous spots being kept out of the holy communion (*châshni*).⁴

* 1 Encycl. Br., 9th ed., Vol. XV, p. 470, col. 1.

2 Aerpatastân, Chap. VII, 7. Nirangistân edited by Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana, folio 22b, l. 7; Mr. S. J. Bulsara's Translation, p. 51; Darmesteter's Zend Avesta, Tome III, p. 88.

3 Vide *ibid.* Mr. Bulsara's Introduction, p. XXX.

4 Vide the Vendidad II, 29, 37; Âbân Yasht (Yt. V), 92. Vide Herodotus I, 138. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," p. 205.

Among the Mandæans, "the candidate for orders must be at least nineteen years old."¹ It seems that, formerly, in Iran also, the age must have been at least above 15, the age of maturity. But now, in India, there is no restriction about age and even boys of 11 or 12 years of age are admitted for Nāvarhood. It was enjoined that if a candidate had a wet dream, he was rejected altogether. To avoid that risk, the age seems to have been lowered now-a-days. The Pahlavi Aerpatastān (ch. V) speaks of at least three years of study.²

(a) The Mandæan books enjoined the undergoing of 12 years' preparation for the priestly initiation.³ Among the Zoroastrians, upto a few years ago, the candidate was required to know, by heart, the whole of the Yaçna and the Visparad and several other prayers of the Khordeh (*i.e.*, the smaller) Avesta. The learning of all these by heart required several years' preparation. (b) Again we read: "The Tarmidā (*i.e.*, Talmidā, 'initiated') or priest is ordained by a bishop and two priests or by four priests after a long and extremely painful period of preparation."⁴ Among the Parsis also, the candidate is initiated by at least two priests who themselves have to go through six days' preparatory services. During these days, of what is known as, their *gewrâ*, if, during their turns of observing their *gewrâ*, they have a wet dream, their work is vitiated. So, two other priests are, at times, associated into the ceremony to obviate such risk. (c) As to the painful period of preparation, the candidates are, for a period of twenty days, required to avoid comfortable beds.

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

2 Thrizaemaêm (lit., 3 springs). Mr. Bulsara's translation of the Nirangistān, p. 39.

3 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 970, col. 1.

4 *Ibid.*

They are to lie down on rough carpets on the ground and are to abstain from daily baths. They have to eat their meals at regular times with a change of dress. They are not to come into contact with anybody and with any wooden furniture. Their meals and drinking water are to be served to them from a distance.¹ They are to eat, not with their hands, as usual, but with metallic spoons.

Some classical writers refer to this strict disciplinary preparation. (1) When Strabo (Bk. XV, 3) speaks of the Magians living an austere life of somekind, he seems to speak of the Mobads or priests, and it may be more so of those who were being initiated. (2) Diogenes of Laerte² says: "Some authorities hold that philosophical speculation was derived from the barbarians on the ground of the rise of the Magians among...the Persians." Then, after saying that cremation was impious, he adds:—"They (the Persians) forbid ornaments and the wearing of gold. They dress in white, sleep on straw and feed on vegetables, cheese and inferior bread. They carry a reed-staff, which, it is said, they used to stick into the cheese, which they lifted up and ate." This statement seems to apply to the priesthood and especially to the initiates who were being taken into priesthood. (3) Lucian, who lived in the 2nd century (died about 200 A.C.), in his work named *Menippus* (*Icaro-Menippus*), which is held to be in "his best vein and a masterpiece of Aristophanic humour"³, represents himself as going to the heavens, in the company of a Chaldaean, Mithrobarzanes (cf. Meher Burzin) by name. He travelled for 29 days and then coming down was given

1 *Vide* the Chapter on Nâvar in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 199-207.

2 *Vide*, his "Lives of the Philosophers". Jour., K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, *op. cit.*, No. 14, pp. 80-81.

3 . Smith's Classical Dictionary (1872), p. 391.

a bath in the Euphrates. He passed through a harsh initiation of the diet of fruit, milk and honey, and of sleeping on grass without bed. He says further about the initiation, "Now Mithrobarzanes put on some kind of Magian robe, and very Median it looked; he carried these things, the cap and the lion-skin and in addition the lyre, and fitted me out with them, telling me not to answer 'Menippus,' but to say that I was Heracles or Odysseus or Orpheus, if any one asked my name."¹

We read thus of their priestly dress: "The priestly dress, which is all white, consists of drawers, an
 6. White priest-
 dress and
 girdle. upper garment, and a girdle, with the so-called *tāgā* of 'crown'."² These particulars of the priestly dress of the Mandæans remind us of the priestly dress of the Parsi priests which is always white. "The upper garment" of the Mandæan priests corresponds with the *sudreh* of the Parsis and the Mandæan girdle with the Parsi *kusti*. The Persian *dastār* or turban, which is always white, seems to correspond with the *tāgā* of the Mandæans. As to the Mandæan drawers, they seem to correspond to what is now known as the *ijār* (عجار) of the Parsi priests. The Zoroastrians, even the laity, all put on a white cotton shirt called *sudreh*³ They put on over it a woollen girdle called *kusti*.⁴ A child begins to put that on, usually, after the age of seven, and the ceremony is called *Naojote*.⁵ The *sudreh* and *kusti* are, as it were, emblems of one's being a Zoroastrian. A Parsi may put on any dress he likes, but next to skin, he must put on the white *sudreh*, with the girdle over it. I think

1 "Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism," translated into English by Dr. Sherwood Fox and Prof. Pemberton (Jour. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 14 (1929), p. 63. 2 Encycl. Brit., Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

3 *Vide my* "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 181-83. 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 183-85. 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 178-80; 190-96.

that the girdle referred to by Prof. Kessler is the same as the *kushtâ* referred to by Dr. Brandt.

The *Kusti* of the Zoroastrians reminds us of the *kushtâ* of the Mandæans, though they are not the same on all the fours. "In the ethical and religious sections of the Mandæan literature, much is said about *kushtâ*, 'straightness,' 'rectitude,' 'veracity.' In the ritual, the ceremony of immersion included a gesture called 'putting forth *kushtâ*,' this being identical with what is described in several texts as a stretching out of the hand from the bath of immersion, or (after the performance of some other religious duty) 'before Mandâ d 'hayyê.' The gesture was made with the right hand and it corresponded to the clasp of hands with which the soul would be welcomed by the Life and other great celestial beings when it reached the abode of light. It was an outward manifestation of the upright mind and of loyal devotion.'¹ Much of this reminds us of the thoughts associated with the tying of the *kusti* with some gestures among the Zoroastrians.

The Mandæans required that "in all ceremonies the celebrants must be barefoot."² Among the Zoroastrians, to go barefooted, ordinarily, is prohibited, but for priestly celebrants, officiating at the inner liturgical services of the Yaçna, etc., the putting on of stockings is not allowed. Up to a few years ago, generally, and even now in some cases, the celebrants put aside their usual shoes and put on a particular kind of wooden sandals, open from above, known as *kharâu* (𐬕𐬀𐬭𐬀). During certain ceremonies when they have to stand or sit on carpets, they remove their shoes.

1 Encycl. Brit., Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

2 Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, p. 386, col. 1.

The Mandæans stretch forth their right hand in their rituals. This reminds a Parsi of the stretching forth of the hand by the priests in the recital of some prayers like the Afringāns and Patets, known among them as *padān kar-wun* (to do the *padān*). The priests stretch forth, in the recitals of these prayers, their left hand and cover them with their handkerchiefs, or with a part of the skirt of their upper garment.¹

We read: "The priestly system included the following grades: (1) pupils who were in training from their fifth or seventh year; (2) assistants employed in the sacred ceremonies; (3) priests, who had to pass an examination and be ordained; and (4) high priests chosen by the ordinary priests from their own number. The name applied to an assistant (and perhaps also to a pupil) was *shgandā* or *skanda*."² This division reminds one of the following priestly hierarchy among the Parsis: (1) The "Ostā", from the Avesta *hāvishta*, meaning a pupil or disciple. The sons of priests, who are not ordained, are from their age of about seven up to the time when they are ordained, are spoken of as Ostā. (2) Those ordained through the first degree of priesthood. They are spoken of as *Ervads*, from Avesta *dēthrapati*, i.e., a master of learning. They can officiate only at certain outer liturgical ceremonies. (3) Those who have gone through the second or higher grades of ordination. They are known as *Maratab*.³ (4) The *Dasturs*

1 *Vide* my paper "Some Prayer-gestures of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Their Parallels among the Ancient Iranians and Modern Parsees" (My "Asiatic Papers," Part III, p. 170 ff.)

2 Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, p. 389, col. 2.

3 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 199, 207 *et seq.*

(Pahl. *dastô-bar*). They are the high priests generally selected by the priests from among themselves. The above mentioned *shgandâ* or *skandâ* is, I think, the *sashkâns* (learner) of the Avesta (Yasna XIX, 10). It is Pers. *shagird* (شاگرد).

There is a high office among the Mandæan priests, which is occupied by "a bishop, the highest dignitary."¹ It is called *Ganzivra*, i.e., Treasurer. Dr. Brandt says: A Mandæan "high priest bore the Persian title of *ganzibra*."² The ancient Persian priests had also a similar office, known as that of the *Ganjobar* (Pahl. گنجوار) or *Ganjvar* (گنجوار), Persian *Ganjur* (گنجور).³ The great Fire-temple of Azar Goshasp had a treasurer of that kind. It seems that, at times, even the libraries attached to the fire-temples were in charge of these *Ganjurs*.⁴

Among the Mandæans, "each priest had his own dishes and table and partook of food and drink apart from others.....There are numerous data which seem to indicate that the clericalizing of the Mandæan cult was carried furthest in the Persian Settlement."⁵ This was strictly so among the Parsi priests up to a few years ago, and is even so now, to a certain extent, in a town like Naosari, the headquarters of the Parsi priesthood. The priests had even drinking pots of their own. All this was specially so for those priests, who observed the *Bareshnûm* and officiated at the inner or higher liturgical ceremonies. They had separate

1 *Encycl. Brit.*, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

2 *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, p. 389, col. 2.

3 *Vide* "An old Pahlavi-Pazend Glossary of Hoshangji-Haug." (1870), p. 119.

4 *Vide* my Gujarati paper "આતશની નીઆ-ચરામી ચાકરેલા ઈરાની આતશ કહેલની હકીકત" in my *Iranian Essays*, Part II, p. 114.

5 *Hastings' Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, *op. cit.*, p. 989, col. 2

stools serving as tables. When they took their meals in their own separate dishes, sitting on a common table, they took special care that there was no table-cloth which could connect their separate dishes.

We read of "a form of confession according to which the sinner, upon making a penitent acknowledgment of his sins, three times, receives absolution for the same sin; i.e., he is assured of the remission of future penalty; but after the third time further transgression can be expiated only by certain good works. The passage of the Genza to which appeal is made in support of this ordinance simply enjoins that the devout shall thrice 're-erect' apostates or transgressors before casting them out of the community".¹

It seems that, though the Parsis have no confession among them now, it existed at one time. There is a reference to it in the Patet (s. 10), where the penitent repents and says:—"If I did not declare, i.e., confess, before the leader of the religion, the Dastur, in all obedient reverence, as I ought to have sorrowfully done, I repent (Sraoshadâ vêrêzyâ pîsh-i rad Dastur-i dîni avâyast garzîdan oêm na garzîd)."²

As to the Mandæan repentance three times, and excommunication, if a particular crime is repeated after the third absolution, we find, that there was a similar view in old Parsiism also. In the Pahlavi commentary of the Vendidad (chap. XVIII, 62), it is said of a particular sin, that, if one commits a sin and truly repents, he may be pardoned. If he again commits the sin and repents, he may be pardoned. This may be permitted three times. But if he commits the same wrongful act for the fourth time, it is

1 Hastings' Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics, *op. cit.*, p. 389, col. 2.

2 Vide my Gujarati Lecture on Patet in my "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects," Part I, p. 159.

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an unpardonable sin (awash kâr lôit meman amat ash-sharitûntan sê bâr barâ yehbânt margarân).¹ The matter is also referred to in the Persian Saddar Nasr.²

We read: "There are numerous data which seem to indicate that the clericalizing of the Mandæan cult was carried furthest in the Persian settlement. Besides the title of the high priest, the names of several articles of priestly attire (*rasta*) are Persian words—*tâgâ*, *kanzalâ*, *pandâmâ*." Of these three, the *tâgâ* may be the Pahl. *tâk* (𐭕𐭕), a fibre, P. *tâk* (تاک), Eng. twig. Hence, originally, a loose dress made of fibres. The *pandâmâ* may be Pahlavi *pai jameh* (𐭯𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 P. پای جامه), drawer, trouser.

(IV) THEIR CALENDAR.

As to their calendar, we read: "The year is solar and has twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days between the eighth and ninth month."³ The same is the case with the Parsis even now, with this difference, that the Parsis now observe the intercalary days at the end of the 12th month. But it

1 *Vide* Dastur Hoshang Jamasp's Pahlavi Vendidad, p. 598, ll. 8-9. Dastur Jamaspji's Gujarati-Pahlavi Vendidad, Text, p. 128, Translation p. 162. Haug translates: "And it is not her business; for when cohabitation is three times conceded by her (she is) worthy of death (*margarjân*)" (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., p. 377).

2 Chapter LXVII: *Vide* Ervad Bomonji N. Dhabhar's Sad-dar Nasr, p. 48. This matter was referred to, and much discussed, about 60 years ago, on the occasion of excommunicating one or two Parsi women who had resorted to prostitution. *Vide* *Jeh-shekan*, by Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji (1870). *Vide* Din-i Vajargard. Ms. of K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 241, p. 197, ll. 1-3; p. 112, ll. 6-8; p. 15, ll. 1-5. *Vide* my "History of the Parsi Punchayet," p. 287.

3 *Encycl. Brit.*, Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1

seems from old writings that among the ancient Parsis of Iran, the time, *i.e.*, the month of the observance of intercalary days, varied. It seems that, perhaps, among the Mandæans also, formerly, the case may be the same.

The Mandæans have six great feasts. They correspond to the six Gāhambārs of the Parsis. One of these six great feasts is that of "the great five days' baptismal festival (*pant-shâ*), the chief feast, kept on the five intercalary days at the end of the second month of summer,—during its continuance every Mandæan, male and female, must dress in white and bathe thrice daily."¹ The Parsis also have, as a chief festival, five intercalary days at the end of their year, when all, mostly the males, prefer to dress in white. These five days were known as the *Panj-i-meh*, *i.e.*, the Great Five, to distinguish them from the preceding five days, which were known as the *Panj-i-keh*, *i.e.*, the Lesser Five.² The last 10 days of the year were held to be important and sacred, but of these ten, the last five days were specially so. The Parsis have no three baths during the day in these feast days, but they observe ablutions and prayer for five times during the day of 24 hours, of which *three* occur during the day-time,—(1) early morning, (2) noon or mid-day and (3) afternoon at three o'clock. During these five days, most of the people went once through a sacred bath known as *nâhn*. They had daily bath in the morning but observed ordinary ablutions for prayers three times during the day.

"Of the seven days of the week, next to Sunday (*habshabâ*), Thursday has a special sacredness as the day of Hibil Ziva."³ This Hibil is "the *alter ego* (another self) of

3. A special sacred day in the week.

1 Encycl. Brit., Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

2 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," *op. cit.*, p. 468.

3 Encycl. Brit., Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

Manda,"¹ who is "the most important figure in the Mandaean hierarchy from whom they take their name."²

(a) The Zoroastrians also known as Mazdeans or Mazdayasnans take their name from Mazdah just as the Mandaeans take theirs from their Manda. (b) This matter, of one day in the week being held particularly sacred as the day of Hibil or Manda, who stands the highest in their hierarchy, reminds us of the day Ormazd, the first day of the month, bearing Ahura Mazda's name being held sacred among the Zoroastrians. Among the Parsis, the first (Ohrmazd), the 8th (Daêpadar), the 15th (Daêpmehar) and the 23rd (Daêpadin) days are held sacred. They are, as it were, Zoroastrian Sundays. At one time, the Parsi Madressahs were closed on these four days. They were, and are, held to be auspicious. A Parsi Society in Bombay—the Jarthoshti Dîn-ni Khol Karnari Mandli—held its sittings on these four holy days. (c) The word Dae, in the names of 8th, 15th, and 23rd days, is an *alter ego* of Ahura Mazda.

"The New Year (Nauruz rabba) on the first day of the first month of winter" is a great feast
 4. The Nauruz of both, day with the Mandaeans. The Parsis also have Naoruz (lit. the new day), the first day of their first month, as a great festive day.

(V) SOUL AND THE DEATH-RITES OF THE DEPARTED SOUL.

We read:—"The Manichæans believe that the soul and the savior are related. Expressed in Manichæan terminology, the soul is the self or *grev* of the savior, an idea to which only the intricacies of the Iranian discrimination in psychological matters could have given rise. The closest parallel to this conception outside Iranian and Manichæan

circles is found in certain Mandaic hymns where the savior is the heavenly counterpart or 'image' of the soul."¹

The Mandæan view, as expressed above, is not clear. But, as to what, Mr. Kraeling calls "the intricacies of the Iranian discrimination," we know that, according to the Avesta² of the Parsis, the soul as an entity has, as its spiritual parts, *ahu* (vitality), *daêna* (conscience), *baodha* (intelligence), *urvâna* (soul-power) and *fravashi* (guiding spirit). In this view, the *fravashi* is the "saviour" "or the heavenly counterpart or image of the soul", referred to in the Mandæan view. In Iranian scriptures, it is this *fravashi* that one sees, in old Iranian sculptures, hovering in the air before the worshipping monarch holding a bow in his hand. If one acts, as directed by his "guiding spirit," he is saved.

The Mandæans "have some peculiar death-bed rites:

2. Death-bed rites. a deacon with some attendants waits upon the dying, and as death approaches, administers a bath, first of warm and afterwards of cold water; a holy dress consisting of seven pieces (*rastâ*) is then put on: the feet are directed towards the north and the head turned to the south, so that the body faces the pole-star. After the burial a funeral feast is held in the house of mourning."³ From this passage we find that the following particulars are attended to in their death-bed rites:—

- (a) A deacon with others waiting upon the dying person.
- (b) Administration of a bath.
- (c) Putting on of "a holy dress consisting of seven pieces (*rastâ*)" over the dead body.

1 Journal of the American Oriental Society, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

2 Yaçna, hâ 26, s. 4.

3 Encycl. Brit., Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1, 2.

(d) The feet are directed towards the north and the head towards the south.

(e) A funeral feast after burial.

I will speak of similar death-rites among the Parsis:—

As among the Mandæans, so among the Parsis, priests

(a) Priests attending at death time. are called in just before death, when a person is given up. A funeral rite, known as *akhiânâ*, is held by the Parsis.

“When a case is given up as hopeless, the relations send for two or more priests, who assemble round the sick-bed of the dying person and say, for his benefit, the *Patet*, which is a prayer for the repentance of one’s sins. The priests are paid in money and grain for their services..... The origin of this custom seems to lie in the fact that a Zoroastrian is expected to say always his repentance prayer (*patet*) and repent of his sins. If he is conscious and able, he is expected to do so at the approaching moment of death. His near relations and friends may join in the last prayer. If the recital of the whole *Patet* is not possible, the recital, a short time before death, of the *Ashem-Vohu* formula by the dying person himself is considered meritorious.”¹

Among the Zoroastrians also, a bath on the occasion of death is necessary. At one time, the bath (b) Baths after death. was given just a little before the expiry of life, but, now-a-days, as doctors and others of their view, say that the exertion for bath accelerated death, even by a few minutes, a bath of cold water is given after death. Among the Mandæans, a warm bath is given before the cold one. Why two baths? I think the original injunction among the Mandæans also is that of one bath—the cold bath. The warm bath is a subsequent addition out of warm

1 *Vide* my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,” pp. 52-3.

feelings, even after death, for the dead body, lest it may be shocked by the cold bath at first. I know, that even now some Parsi ladies, out of such tender feelings, wish that the water may not be quite cold. They ask for its being, at least, lukewarm.

Among the Zoroastrians also, a "holy dress" is put on over the dead body after the bath.

(c) Holy Dress. Generally, on death approaching, a suit of dress is washed at home with pure water and dried and kept ready for the occasion. The principal part of the suit of dress is a white shirt, known as *sudreh*¹ or *sudra*, which also, like the *rastâ* of the Mandæans, consists of "seven pieces". The Mandæan word *rastâ* "holy dress consisting of seven pieces," may, I think, be Pers. *rasta* (رسته), "pure without and within" or Pers. *rista* (رسته), spun.²

Among the Parsis also, the head is directed towards the south and the feet towards the north.³

(d) Head to the South. The Vendidad (VII, 2, 5) speaks of the Druji Nasush (the Demon of Filth) coming from the northern direction. Even the wind from the north is taken to be stinking (Yt. Fragment, XXII. Hadokht Nask, III, 18). The wind from the south purified the air (Vend. III, 42).

Among the Parsis also, there is a funeral feast after death. This feast is given on the *chehâ-*

(e) Funeral Feasts. *rûm*, or the fourth, day after death. A few priests are always invited at the feast, and also some relatives and friends, especially those, who had gone with the funeral procession to the Tower of Silence.

1 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," p. 181.

2 Steingass.

3 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," op. cit., p. 56.

The Mandæan books are said to prohibit "lamentation for the dead". Zoroastrian books do the

8. Prohibition of lamentation for the Dead. same. According to the Pahlavi Vjraf-nāmeḥ (ch. 57) it was believed that the

dead were much grieved if their living dear ones lamented too much. It is allegorically said that the tears, that fell from excessive lamentation, form a rivulet, which comes across the path of the dead person and marred his peaceful progress. So, the living were asked to abstain from lamenting much.

We read: "The ceremony termed *Masseqta* 'mounting up', 'ascent', consists exclusively of such

4. The *Masseqta* for the Dead. recitations, and is designed to help the souls of the departed if in their

journey or flight to the better world they should be stopped by evil-disposed spirits or because of their own sins. The imagination of the Mandæans gave itself with zest to descriptions of this ascension and of the stations through which the soul must pass.....Some of the descriptions contain features taken from Parsi-Gnostic sources, as, e.g., the 'gates' of the planets situated one above the other (mentioned as Mithraic in Origen.....) or the guardian spirits who come to meet the soul, and—in the latest Genzā texts—the tree of life, the balance in which the soul is weighed, the Judge of the dead, etc.....The hymns of the Genzā..... insist rather upon the necessity of good works..... The *masseqta* for the dead is in reality a Mandæan imitation of a corresponding ceremony in the Parsi religion. According to Parsi doctrine, the soul, after leaving the body, is received by its own good thoughts, words, and works—which assume the form of a beautiful maiden—and by them is led across the narrow Chinvaṭ bridge, or guarded against other objects of fear. Now the hymns in the Genzā are simply *masseqta* hymns, i.e., they were composed for use in the Mandæan ceremony..... In

composing them the writers must have let their thoughts be guided by the example of the Parsi ceremony and the Parsi texts."¹

From this long passage of Dr. Brandt, and from other references, we gather that there are several matters of similarity between Mandæan thoughts and the Mazdean thoughts about the passage of the soul to the other world after death. The "features taken from Parsi sources" seem to be the following:—

The first part of "the ceremony termed *masseqta* (mounting up, ascent)" seems to correspond with the *geh-sarnâ*² ceremony of the Parsis, which is believed to help "the mounting up or ascent" of the soul. According to the Vendidad (X, 1, 2,) the recital keeps off evil influences.

The belief of the Mandæans about the "evil-disposed spirits" stopping the soul's journey or flight to the better world reminds us of what is said in the Parsi books that a *div* or evil spirit named *astô-vîdhôtu* (𐎠𐎼𐎫𐎡𐎴.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴) comes in the way of the ascent of the soul.³

The Mandæan "gates of the planets situated, one above another, through which the soul must pass" have their parallels in the Mazdean or Zoroastrian stations. According to Zoroastrian books, "your good thoughts, good words and good deeds will be your saviours in the next world. Therefore it is, that, three days after death, the

1 Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics, *op. cit.*, pp. 387, col. 2—388, col. 1.

2 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis".

3 Vend. IV, 49; V, 89. *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names, p. 20.

soul of a good man directs itself towards the paradise with three steps of Humata, Hukhta and Hvarshta, *i.e.*, good thoughts, good words and good deeds.”¹ The three stages of heaven are known by similar words as Humata etc.”² The three stages of heaven are named as Khurshed-pâya, Mâh-pâyâ and Setar-pâya, after the sun, moon and stars.”³

Dr. Brandt refers to the special or sacred use of the word “Gates” in connection with the heavens named after heavenly bodies. Again, according to Mr. Kraeling, the Mandæans use, in one of their scriptures, “the right Genzâ,” the word ‘gate’ in the sense of religion. This reminds us of the Parsi use of the word ‘dar’ (*i.e.*, door or gate) in a religious sense. For example, they speak of their place of worship as Dar-i-Meher, *i.e.*, the Door or Gate of Mithra.⁴

The Mandæan belief about “the guardian spirits who come to meet the soul”, reminds us of the Zoroastrian belief about the Fravashis or guardian spirits of the dead, meeting the new departed souls.* The belief is still prevalent traditionally. The angel Sraosha also guards and protects the souls of the dead. So, the ceremonies of the first three days are spoken of as “Sarosh ni Kryâ,” *i.e.*, ceremonies in honour of Sraosha.⁵

1 *Vide* my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,” *op. cit.*, p. 77.

2 *Yasht* fragment, XXII, 15, *Hadokht Nask* II, 34.

3 *Vide* my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,” *op. cit.*, p. 474.

4 *Vide* my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,” *op. cit.*, p. 282.

5 *Vide* the chapter on the Funeral Ceremonies in my “Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees.”

(e) The Tree of Life. The Mandæan "tree of life," reminds us of Haoma,¹ the Zoroastrian tree of life.

The Mandæan belief of the balance and the judge weighing the deeds of the dead, has its parallel, as said in the above passage, in Zoroastrianism, where the judge who holds the balance at the furthest end of a bridge—the Chinvat bridge—is Mithra, ordinarily spoken of as Meher davar, i.e., Mithra the Judge.

The Abāthur of the Mandæans "stands on the borderland between the here and the hereafter." He "sits on the furthest verge of the world of light that lies towards the lower regions, and weighs in his balance the deeds of the departed spirits who ascend to him. Beneath him was originally nothing, but a huge void."² This Abāthur has his parallel in the above Mithra of the Zoroastrians. Dr. Brandt says on this subject that the Mandæans have a writing known as *Divāns* which is a work "written on one long strip of paper". One of such *Divāns* "gives the procedure for the expiation of ceremonial offences..... Another *Divān*.....consists of a series of sketches representing the halting places through which the soul of a deceased Mandæan must pass in its ascent, and, at its destination, the scales and the throne of Abāthur".³ All this sounds as Zoroastrian. According to Zoroastrian Scriptures, a soul has to halt before the throne of Mithra, the Zoroastrian Abāthur, who weighs its actions in this world in a scale and allows it to pass on to Paradise

1 *Vide* my paper on "The Haoma of the Avesta", read before the 8th Oriental Congress at Stockholm. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Part I, pp. 225 *et seq.*

2 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *op. cit.*, p. 469, col. 1.

3 *Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, *op. cit.*, p. 381, col. 1.

if its good acts overweigh the bad acts, even by the weight of a straw, and sends it down to Hell, if otherwise.¹

(VI) THE MANDÆAN COMMUNION.

According to Dr. Brandt, communion is one of the commandments of the Mandæan Scriptures.² The Mandæan communion, like that of the Christians, corresponds to the *Châshni* of the Zoroastrians.³ The word *châshni*, coming from the root *chash* (Persian *chashidan*, چشیدن), to taste, to eat, means a ceremonial eating. It is the eating of *darîn* or sacred bread and other consecrated things. We read about the 'Mandæan communion:—"The Mandæans observe also with the elements of bread (*pehtâ*) and wine (*mambûgâ*, lit., 'fountain') a sort of eucharist which has a special sanctifying efficacy, and is usually dispensed at festivals, but only to baptized persons of good repute who have never willingly denied the Mandæan faith. In receiving it, the communicant must not touch the host with his finger; otherwise it loses its virtue. The hosts are made by the priests from unleavened fine flour. A peculiar act of piety is for a layman under the guidance of the bishop to receive the *massektha* ('elevation') and thereby become a sort of ascetic, a *shalmâuâ tâbâ* ('really perfect')."⁴ All this account of the Mandæan communion reminds us of the following particulars connected with the Zoroastrian *châshni*:—

- (a) The use of sacred bread on religious festive occasions. Its eating has "a special sanctifying effect".

1 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 83-4.

2 Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

3 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," p. 298.

4 *Encyc. Brit.* Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

- (b) The sacred bread to be prepared by priests.
- (c) The sacred bread to be partaken only by good people.
- (d) The participants are not to touch the sacred bread and other offerings of food.
- (e) The congregation to partake of the sacred bread under the guidance of a priest.
- (f) The washing of food.
- (g) The use of wine in the communion.

The sacred bread of the Mandæans resembles the

(a) The Sacred Bread of the Mandæans and the *Darûn* of the Zoroastrians. Their sanctifying effect.

Darûn of the Zoroastrians in many ways, (a) The *Darûn* is "a flat unleavened round bread of wheat flour and *ghee* or clarified butter".¹ The eating, as *châshni*, of the *darûns*, consecrated by priests, is believed to have a "special sanctifying efficacy". The *ja-shans*² or festive days are the special occasions on which the congregations partake of the *châshni*. Among the Parsis, besides the sacred bread, flowers, fruits and other eatables are consecrated in the ritual.

As among the Mandæans, so among the Zoroastrians, the *darûns* or sacred breads are required to

(b) Breads for consecration, prepared by priests.

be prepared by members—male or female—of the priestly class.³ Among the Parsis, when the *darûns* are not prepared by members of the priestly class, but are prepared by those of the laymen class, the priests, while consecrating all the offerings, which consist of fruits, clarified butter, water, etc., use, what are called, *chitiâns* (𐬩𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌), which are very small breads, prepared by themselves for the occasions as substitutes. The *chitiâns*, which serve as substitutes,

1 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," p. 296 ff. 2 *Ibid.* pp. 455-65. 3 *Ibid.* p. 297.

differ from regular *darîns*. They are very small, about an inch and a half in diameter, while the *darîns* are about 4 to 8 inches in diameter. Again, they are not baked well, being intended only as substitutes, hastily prepared by the officiating priest to serve the place of well-prepared and well-baked *darîns*.¹

As among the Mandæans, so among the Parsis, the sacred bread is to be partaken by persons of good faith. In the inner liturgical services, the priest at first partakes of it, and then, others.² In the ritual of the Yaçna, the Râspi, one of the officiating priests, says to the assembled congregation:—"Ye persons! who have been qualified by your righteousness and piety! partake of this consecrated food." By these words, he means to say, that only the righteous have a right to partake in the religious feasts.³

According to the Yashts⁴, misbelieving persons, and even persons with a physical blemish, like that of leprosy, were forbidden to take part in the holy communion. The Parsis, even now, are forbidden to give consecrated breads or fruits to non-Zoroastrians. Prof. Darmesteter thus speaks of the Zoroastrian *châshni*: "Certe communion est une sorte d'épreuve religieuse. Il faut que le fidèle se sente en état de grâce pour y toucher et il semble, d'après l'adjurations solennelle faite par le *zaotar*⁵ que les effets du Myazda⁶ trahissent ce lui qui le consomme en état de péché."⁷

1 I think the word *chitiâns* comes from *chit*, चित्, i.e., attention, meaning, that, by attention or mental thought, they may take these small breads to be *darâns*, i.e., the proper large breads.

2 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 298 ff. 3 *Ibid.* pp. 298-99. 4 Tir and Ram Yashts.

5 *Zaotar* is one of the officiating priests.

6 *Myazda*, to some extent, corresponds to the Christian mass. The etymology of both the words seems to be the same.

7 Le Zend Avesta, Tome I, p. 75.

Among the Zoroastrians, as among the Mandæans, the participants of the *châshni* are not to touch the *darûn* or sacred bread prepared by the priests before consecration. If the *darûns* are so touched before consecration, they are desecrated and cannot be consecrated by the priests. After consecration, the *darûn* may be touched and eaten as *châshni* by the laymen, who are expected to have their hands washed before attending the *jashan* and partaking of the *châshni*.

Among the Parsis also, as among the Mandæans, the *châshni* at one time, was made under the guidance of priests. I remember having seen in my boyhood, that, at the Gâhambar *jashan* festivals, a Parsi priest guided the assembled Parsis in the *châshni* or religious participation of the bread and other consecrated offerings. He, with a loud voice, recited the *bâj* or prayer of grace, and the congregation followed, sentence by sentence, and then they partook of the eatables.

The Mandæans are said to have the custom of "washing the food." Rev. Taylor, while referring to the food-laws of the Mandæans, speaks of "the washing of foods." He says:—"The flesh of beasts killed otherwise than through slaughter is forbidden, also the taking of blood and of food and drink prepared by non-believers. More characteristically Mandæan elements appear in the commands regarding white clothing, the girdle, the baptismal bath and the washing of all foods."¹ The Zoroastrians still observe this custom in the case of religious or solemn feasts. Fruits and flowers offered in the *myazda* are first washed by the priest. If they are accidentally touched by others, they are washed again. If one has to touch these offerings, he must first wash his

¹ Article on the Mandæans, in the Hibbert Journal of April 1936, p. 525.

hands before touching the offering. Washing, ceremonial washing, not only of food offered in the *myazda*, but also of utensils used for liturgical purposes, plays a prominent part in Zoroastrian ritual.

As among the Mandæans, so among the Zoroastrians, wine played a certain part, though not so great a part as the sacred bread.¹ Its use was permitted to the priesthood (Vend. IV, 17). In the *Āfrin-i Gāhambār*, wine is referred to as a part of diet, even of the pious and the poor. In the ritual, known as the *Gāhambār-ni pāvi*, there was, at times, a sacred recital over wine as over water and milk.

(g) Wine in
the religious
ceremonies of
both.

(VII) SOME MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MANDÆANS. THEIR PARALLELS IN ZOROASTRIANISM.

I will speak, under this head, of some other Mandæan customs which are similar to those of the Zoroastrians. We find some of the customs prevalent even among the Hebrews, early Christians and Hindus.

We read that among the Mandæans, "the idea of purity was recognised in the sense of a relation to the world of light so intimate, that it carried with it exclusion from every object and condition antipathetic to it. The laws already mentioned regarding food came to the Mandæans through the medium of the ethical code in the doctrine of the king of light, as did also the injunction that husbands and wives should 'wash themselves with water' after cohabitation, and women after menstruation. It was only later, that the

1. Ceremonial
Purity.

¹ Vide my paper "Wine among the Ancient Persians" in my "Asiatic Papers," Part III, pp. 231-46,

commandment of ablution was extended to many other occasions of life.¹

We find the following similar ideas of ceremonial purity among Zoroastrians²:—

- (a) The Parsis also avoided coming into contact with “every object and condition antipathetic to purity”. For example, they avoided coming into contact with the corpse-bearers, sweepers who removed night-soil and such other people who came into frequent contact with impurities.
- (b) Husbands and wives bathed after cohabitation.
- (c) Women bathed after the period of menstruation, before coming into contact with others.
- (d) Women had a sacred bath, 40 days after delivery, before coming into contact with others.

I will here speak of these questions of purity in some details.

We saw above, that, like the Mandæans, the Zoroastrians

(a) Avoiding contact with persons who had touched dead bodies. The moderns who deal with sanitation speak of “contacts and evicts”. I remember hearing these words very often during the last plague in Bombay (1886-90) from municipal officers. These two classes correspond with the *hamrits* and *patrits* of the Zoroastrians.³ The *hamrits* (contacts) were those who came into direct contact with dead bodies. The *patrits* (evicts) were those who came into contact with the *hamrits* (contacts). People were asked to be careful in coming into contact with them. The Pahlavi word *hamrit* (𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀) (contact) is

1 Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, *op. cit.*, p. 387, col. 2.

2 Vide my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,” pp. 5-8; 171-77.

3 *Ibid.* p. 158.

hands. This portion of 'knowledge' (*madda*) however has likewise been moulded into conformity with the Mandæan faith, and distinctively Mandæan commandments have been inserted in it—those enjoining white clothing with girdle, immersion in a river, the Mandæan communion, the *messeqtâ* for the dead, and the washing of all foods, as well as those prohibiting lamentation for the dead and condemning fasting."¹ To one knowing Parsi beliefs and customs, all this strikes at once as Zoroastrian. We have examined above, in some details, all these customs except that of eating the flesh of animals that are not slaughtered; and so, I will speak here of this custom:

The teachings of the Parsi Vendidad and other later Pahlavi and Persian writings condemn eating the flesh of animals that have died otherwise than by slaughter. No sooner such animals die, they become *nasu*² or noxious matter to be avoided in all ways possible. Even upto a few years ago, it was thought advisable, that for meals required for religious or solemn ceremonial occasions, *e.g.*, the *chêhârum*, the fourth day after one's death, the meat may be that of a goat killed by a Zoroastrian.

The spirit of the later Parsi writings, like those of some later Persian writings, *e.g.*, those of the Sad-dar and the Rivayets, point to a prohibition of partaking of food prepared by non-Parsi cooks. The prohibition existed in Bombay, up to about 50 years ago. We have in the History of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay, a case, that had occurred about 100 years ago of a Parsi being excommunicated for eating food prepared

(b) Prohibition to partake of food and drink prepared by alien hands.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 384, col. 1.

2 *Vide* for the Druj-i-Nasush, *i.e.*, the evil influence of Decomposition or Destruction, my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 55-56, and 104.

by a non-Parsi.¹ I will quote here² what I have said elsewhere on this subject, in 1922: "Upto about 40 or 50 years ago, the Parsis did not eat *pakki*, i.e., food cooked by non-Parsis. But that custom is now more honoured in the breach than in the observance among the laity. The priesthood, especially the officiating priesthood, still abstain from food prepared by non-Parsis. Priests, who observe the Bareshnum,³ in order to be qualified to officiate at the liturgical services, eat only food cooked by persons of the priestly class. Upto a few years ago, the Bareshnâm-observing priests would not eat at the same table with the laymen. They would not drink from the same glass or cup, until it was washed, if the glass or cup was touched with the lip."⁴

The Mandæans seem to have some food prohibited.

That was the case with Parsis also
 (c) Prohibited Food. "Orthodox Parsis eat flesh of cloven-footed animals, and abstain from beef, pork and the flesh of other uncloven-footed animals...As to fish, they eat scaly fish and abstain from uscally fish."⁵

Like the Mandæans, the Zoroastrians disliked monastic life. The Zoroastrian dislike for (a) fasting and (b) for celibacy accounted for their dislike of monastic life.
 3. Dislike for a Monastic Life.

1 *Vide* my Gujarati "History of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay," Vol. I, p. 778.

2 *Vide* my article on the Parsis in "The Tribes and Castes of Bombay," by Mr. R. E. Enthoven (1922), Vol. III, p. 220.

3 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 102-53.

4 My article on the Parsis, in "The Tribes and Castes of Bombay," by R. E. Enthoven, Vol. III, p. 220.

5 *Ibid.* p. 220.

According to Prof. Kessler, "the fasts, celibacy and monastic and anchorite life.....are peculiarly objectionable to the Mandæans."¹ This was and is even now the case with Zoroastrians. Fasting, according to the Vendidad (Chap. III, 33), was believed to keep away a man from hard work, from virtuous deeds and from the capability of procreation.

The Persian Sad-dar has a special chapter² on this subject. It is said there, that one's real fast must consist, not of abstaining from food, but of abstaining from sin. We read :

از روزه داشتن نباید پرهیختن چه در دین ما شاید که
 همه روز چیزی نخورند چه گناه بود ما را از روزه داشتن اینست
 که بر چشم و زبان و گوش دست و پای روزه داریم
 ما را نیز جهد باید کردن تا هیچ گناه نه اندیشیم و نکوبیم و نکینیم³

Translation:—We must abstain from keeping fasts, because, in our religion, it is (held to be) improper, that they do not eat anything for the whole of the day, because it is a sin to do so. For us, to keep a fast is this, that we observe fast (*i.e.*, abstain) from committing a sin by means of (our) eyes, tongue, ear, hand and feet.....We must try that we do not think of, or speak, or do (*i.e.*, commit), any sin.

Though fasting is prohibited, the Mandæans have days of fasting, or abstaining, from meat. We read:—"There are also fast days called *m'battal* (Arab.), on which it is

5. Days of abstinence from the eating of flesh.

1 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 469, col. 2.

2 Chapter 83. S.B.E., XXIV, p. 348.

3 Sad-dar Nasr and Sad-dar Bundelesh by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar (1909), Chap. 83, p. 58,

forbidden to kill any living thing or eat flesh."¹ This reminds us of the four days—Bahman (2nd), Mohur (12th), Gosh (14th), and Rām (22nd) of a Parsi month, known as *hamkârâ* (هم کار), on which Parsis observe *parhezi* (پرهیز), i.e., abstain from flesh. Some devout persons in Bombay observe eight days as such—the four extra days being those succeeding the *hamkârâ* days proper. The reason for these extra four days is this: The sheep are slaughtered in Bombay a day previous. So, the flesh coming into the bazar for sale on the day succeeding a *hamkârâ* day proper, being the flesh of animals slaughtered on the *hamkârâ* day proper, is avoided. These days of abstinence are spoken of as the days of *anroza*.²

The Mandæans disliked celibacy. So did the Zoroastrians. According to the Vendidad 6. Dislike for Celibacy. Duty of procreation. (IV, 47), Ahura Mazda prefers a married man to an unmarried man, a man with children to a childless man. The very ground, on which a married man lives, feels happy (Vend. III, 1). Herodotus also refers to the Iranians' love for a married life (Bk. I, 136).³ Prof. Kessler speaks of "the Sidrâ Rabbâ laying great stress upon the duty of procreation."⁴ The Zoroastrian Scripture, the Vendidad, also recommends marriage and procreation.⁵

According to Prof. Kessler, the Mandæans "practise polygamy" from the point of view of "the duty of procrea-

1 Encycl. Brit., *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

2 Perhaps, the word means, fasting (*rozeh*) in which only an (अन्न) i.e., grain, is eaten.

3 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," Chap. II, on Marriage Ceremonies and Customs, pp. 14-1.

4 Encycl. Brit., Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

5 Vend. Chap. III, 1; IV, 17, 44. Vide Chapter (Chap. II) on Marriage Ceremonies and Customs in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis."

tion", but "few of them are rich enough to maintain more than two wives".¹ The Zoroastrian scriptures, though they recommend highly the duty of procreation, do not recommend polygamy. It seems that, when one had no children by his first wife, he, with a view of "the duty of procreation," took a second wife. Even in Bombay, up to 1867, before the Parsi Marriage Act, when one had no offspring from his first wife, he married a second wife, with the consent of the first wife and with the special permission of the Parsi Punchayet, which in olden times, legislated rules and regulations for social affairs. Cases are known of the first wife herself arranging all the affairs for her husband's marriage with a second wife. She did all this with the idea of helping procreation and continuing the family. In such cases, the second wife looked with respect to the first wife.

"The Mandæan places of worship being only designed for the priests and their assistants are excessively small and very simply furnished with two windows, a door that opens towards the south."² This reminds us of the Yazashna-gâh or Urwis-gâh of the Zoroastrians where only the officiating priests can go. This reminds us also of the Âtash-gâh (fire-place) or inner sanctum sanctorum wherein only priests can go and not the laymen. That is still the case among the Mazdayasnans or Parsis of Bombay. The laymen stand outside the sanctum sanctorum which is provided with a door fronting or opening to the east or to the south, and a window, each on the two sides next to the door. At one time, there was a custom that all, whether laymen or priests, who went before the sacred Fire of the Atash Behram, the highest grade of a Fire-temple, must have a bath before going into the ante-chamber leading to the sanctum sanctorum.

1 Encycl. Brit., *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

2 Encycl. Brit., Vol. 15, *op. cit.*, p. 470, col. 1.

OSSETIC-RUSSIAN AND GERMAN DICTIONARY BY V. F. MILLER.

By W. IVANOW.

The two volumes of the new Ossetic-Russian and German Dictionary,¹ which are to be followed by the third one, completing the work, form a new important item in the long series of the contributions to Oriental research by the (formerly Imperial) Russian Academy of Sciences, the highest learned institution in Russia.

We here, in India, rarely take interest in the work of the different Academies of Europe. The average educated Indian scarcely hears anything except the names of a few British Universities where the most coveted degrees of "B.A.", "M.A.", etc., are obtained by the lucky well-to-do students. The more advanced people perhaps have some knowledge about some German Universities, who give the degree of "Dr.", which is also very desirable. In France there are no such degrees, and in spite that at least in some branches of study the French Universities are far superior to the British and German, France is little known in this country. Russia, which till the last catastrophe was the leading country for many branches of Oriental research, in some of which it had almost a monopoly, is a blank space on the map of the geography of the Indian student. Not only the difficulties of the Russian languages, but also the absence of the high-sounding degrees are probably to be blamed. This is why speaking about the Russian Academy and its

1 Vsevolod F. Miller, *Ossetic-Russian and German Dictionary*, edited and enlarged by A. A. Freimann. *Edition of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, Leningrad (St. Petersburg). Vol. I, 1927, pp. IX and 618; Vol. II, 1929, pp. VIII and 619-1176; size 8°.

work one has to recall some facts which are not universally known here.

Being remote from India, and having here no practical interests, Russia, naturally, could not specialise on Indian research. But even in this field some outstanding work was done. Suffice it to mention the monumental Sanscrit Dictionary by Böthling, and a series of fundamental works on Buddhism, by Vasiliev, Minaev, Sheherbatsky, etc. Many Russian works were published in French or German simply for the purpose to make them better known to those who do not read Russian, which is an extremely rich, but difficult language.

The study of the Japanese language was started under the patronage of the Academy; almost the whole Sinology, the Mongolian, Siberian and Caucasian research were a monopoly of Russia. Turkology was made what it is now by the monumental works of the late Prof. W. Radlof. But one of the most important branches of research with which we are here chiefly concerned, was almost entirely born and brought up in Russia. It is research in modern Iranian languages. Pashtoo was for the first time studied by Dorn. Kurdish by Lerch, Jaba, and others. Persian dialects by Zhukovski, Salemann, and others. The discovery of Sogdian, Central Asian Pehlevi texts, etc., was done mostly under the patronage of the Academy. The complete Dictionary of the Pehlevi language, over which the late C. Salemann was working whole his life, may be expected to form yet one more important contribution when it is published.

According to the preface of the editor, A. A. Freimann, a pupil of the late C. Salemann, the nucleus of the present Ossetic Dictionary was already prepared for publication by its author, the late Prof. V. Miller, in July 1883, but for some reasons was not published. The author kept on adding to it new materials, and when he died in 1913, his

dictionary, which was entrusted to the Asiatic Museum of the Academy, contained over 8,000 instead of the original 2,500 words. The work of preparation for the press was taken up by the late Prof. C. Salemann, but was never completed as he died in November 1916. After this the work over it was entrusted to the present editor, A. A. Freimann. The latter added much of new materials, using new publications in the Ossetic, which appeared of late, and consulting the educated Ossetians on several visits to their country. Acknowledgments of his indebtedness to these his friends, and remarks about the technical details of the Dictionary form the contents of the prefaces to both these volumes, which contain altogether 1176 pages in 8°, double column, from the beginning to the letter S. The next volume will complete the work.

The study of the Ossetic has of late acquired great importance in Iranian research due to the connections of this language with a most important and almost unknown period of development of Iranian languages. Ossetians, who now inhabit some districts in the Northern Caucasus, are an Iranian nation, according to the census of 1920 numbering 227,630 souls. They are divided into three sub-tribes: Iron, Digor and Tual, speaking slightly different dialects. The term *Iron*, obviously of very ancient origin, is also used for a general equivalent of the term *Ossetian*. They are partly Christians, and partly Sunnites. Some of them are bilingual, speaking Georgian as their second language (in the Southern districts). Their language has now traces of influence of Turkish, Caucasian hillmen languages, and, of late, Russian.

Irons, or Ossetians are regarded as the direct descendants of the ancient Alans, who in the second century A.D. inhabited the steppes between the Aral and Caspian seas, living in the vicinity of the ancient kingdom of Kanga,

which was also called Sogd. Most probably they were of the same stock as the ancient Sogdians, and spoke a similar language. The Ossetic is quite closely related to Sogdian, of which we have now texts discovered in the sand-buried ruins of the Central Asian deserts. The Sogdian is still spoken by the inhabitants of two villages in the hills S.E. from Samargand, in the valley of the stream Yagnob. In 1920 there were only 1,197 souls of them. The Yagnobi is divided into two sub-dialects which differ very little.

This ancient Iranian language of the North-East of Iran probably had a great influence over Persian. For instance, there is in the Dari (or Gabri), the language which is used only by the Zoroastrians in Persia, the verb, *niftwun*, to send. There is no such word in literary Persian, but in the Ossetian (II,895) we find the verb *niftaun*, or *nüftaun*, Caus. from *niftän*, or *nüftun*. The former means to put, to throw, and the latter to fall, to fit, both obviously the versions of the same verbal complex of the Pref. *ni-* and the $\sqrt{-ft-}$ (-*pt*). Ordinarily, however, even those terms which are common to both Persian and Ossetic, sound slightly differently, as for instance, P. *murgh*, bird, here is *margh*; P. *nâkhîn*, nail, is here *nikh*; P. *murda*, dead, is here *mard* (again nearer to the Dari!), etc. Sometimes, however, obviously the same root is altered: P. *mîsh*, mouse (*mushk*, *mishk* in various dialects), is here *müst*.

The addition of the German meanings may be very useful to the readers in the Western Europe; but every student, even Russian, will have to say much about the system of transliteration. This so-called "Academical" system was introduced in the Academy's publications about fifty years ago, and is based on Russian alphabet. The latter has many advantages, indeed, as, for instance, possessing special signs for sounds like kh, sh, ch, zh, ts, etc. But, nevertheless, it is insufficient for every purpose, and introduction of additional signs makes it a horrible

hybrid, neither easy to decipher to Russians, nor to those who are accustomed to the Latin letters. It is rather sad to see that since the invention of this system there was not much progress made towards introduction of a single, simple, and practically accessible international system. The "authorities" on such matters, specialists in phonology working in cities like Paris, London, etc., apparently cannot stand the temptation to make their learned systems useless to everybody. They invent such profusion of weird looking signs, that one cannot cherish any hope that many presses in the world would spend large sums on buying the costly type only for the sake of a rare chance of publishing a few learned philological papers. Therefore all those who are not privileged to use the few presses in the world which are equipped with such types, remain in as bad a position as ever, left to themselves to invent something less learned, but practicable.

In conclusion, one who is interested in Iranian research should feel great obligation to the Russian Academy of Sciences for the publication of this important work, and hope that it will be safely completed, at the same time paying due regards to the labours of the editor whose efforts at making the Dictionary more complete and more accurate have produced excellent results.

THE UNICORN.

BY VICAJI DINSHAW, ESQ., CIVIL SURGEON (RETD.)

[I had the pleasure of reading in the *Jam-e-Jamshed* of 27th May 1931, a Gujarati letter from Mr. Vicaji Dinshaw, the writer of this brief paper. Mr. Vicaji having referred in this letter to some stars referred to in the Avesta, I drew his attention to (a) the paper in the Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume (1914) of Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.), on "The Identity of some heavenly bodies mentioned in the Old Iranian Writings" and (b) to the paper of Mr. K. Inostransev, in the First Number of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, "The Migration of the Parsis to India and to the Musalman world in the middle of the 8th Century," wherein the Russian scholar refers to a material phenomenon in the Caspian and to a passage in the Bundehash (pp. 50-51).

This led to some correspondence and Mr. Vicaji Dinshaw has kindly prepared this paper briefly embodying his views.—THE EDITOR.]

"All opinions, all errors, known, read and collected are of much service towards speedy attainment of what is truth".

Many conjectures have been made as to the origin of this mythical figure, but so far as I can judge, none of these explain satisfactorily *all* the traits this animal has acquired in myth and folklore. Hence I propose to give in this short note a theory founded on all that can be gathered about it in the myths, etc., of the Indo-Iranians.

I will first enumerate the chief characteristics which this animal has acquired in the legends of the West, then take them up one by one and trace them to the sacred lore of these peoples.

It is well known that this animal as depicted now resembles a horse, with a tufted tail however, and so it is more akin to an ass. It has one single horn on its head.

As to its habitat, Ctesias believed it to be *India*. It was believed to be very fierce but still very docile to a *virgin*: it is also said that *between it and the lion there is insatiable enmity*. It is also said that cups made out of its horn made poisons harmless, and owing to this belief cups alleged to have been made out of this horn (but which were made out of the horn of the rhinoceros) were largely sold in former times, thus *miraculous healing powers were associated with this animal*.

As to the genesis of this creature, I believe that it is originally the ass, a very useful animal for the ancients and very often considered to be a valuable possession. *It is the ass of Ashvins and the three legged ass of the Iranians*.

In the Rig Veda, it is called the Mighty Ass of Ashvins (I-34, 9); the Stallion Ass that won the race (I-116, 2); and (I-117); it is also said to exist in heaven (I-162), in short it is the वाहन conveyance of the twin physicians of the gods.

But nowhere in the Rig Veda is it said to possess a horn: this trait of the ass, we however do find in Iranian legends, in the XIXth Chapter of Bundehesh, but still there are indications in the Rig Veda too, because as pointed out long ago by Griffith (The Hymns of the Rig Veda, Volume I, page 46, note to verse 12), amongst the Indians the horn was a symbol of might, as it was amongst the Hebrews, and he points to Rig Veda I-33 (Sushana with horn) and I-59 (Maruts are like exalted horn of bulls for might); in fact, the horn has been the symbol of might from the most ancient to comparatively recent times (*e.g.*, Sikander Zulkarnain of Islamic legends).

As to its next trait—it being easily tamed by a virgin, though so fierce and bold as to fight even with a lion—this too seems to have originated from the Rig Veda. As we know, it was with the aid of their animal (the ass) that

the Ashvins won their bride, the daughter of the Sun—the *Suryā*—the *Virgin*, by winning a chariot race in competition with other gods (Rig Veda, VII-69; X-85; I-116; I-117); also that the chariot of the twin gods used to be harnessed by this Virgin (Valakhilya, Hymns X and III). So Rig Veda VII-69 shows how the Virgin came to be associated with the Unicorn, and the Valakhilya hymns show the power which the Virgin has over the animal (to make it docile) because an animal cannot be yoked to a chariot by a person whom it dislikes.

As regards the Unicorn's hatred for the lion, there is no mention of it in the Rig Veda, the Bundelesh, or the Avestā: yet the fight between these two is a very frequent theme in the Iranian Architecture, and exquisite representations of it can be seen in the ruins of the palace of Darius. Next I will speak of the belief about the healing powers associated with the horn of the Unicorn. This trait has been transposed from the Ashvins to their *वामन*. The Ashvins are the *physicians of the gods*, and in the Vedās—the Vāhans are depicted as having the powers of their masters, not only this, but sacred animals are believed to have such powers in different parts of their bodies, secretions and excretions included.

Having examined the Rig Veda mainly hitherto, let us turn to Iranian sources. In the Avesta this animal is mentioned only once (Yasna XLII-4), where it is said to be standing in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha; but a fuller description of it is found in the Pahlavi Bundelesh XIX—in fact the animal here is endowed with miraculous powers, that is to say, unlike the Rig Veda we here see it fully developed as a mythical creature. In Bundelesh, as already pointed out, this ass is endowed with a horn (its rightful possession according to Western Folklore). How this came about can be explained best in the

following manner. This ass is mentioned only once in the Avestā, and there too in company with another mythical being. I believe, that it came into Indo-Iranian religion from the animal worship of some less cultured of their brethren, but was retained from political motives (as at that time there was a great danger to the Indo-Aryans of being swamped by the powerful non-Aryan nations around them and unity between the various tribes, clans, families was necessary for the former), but still later on when these Indo-Aryan tribes began to breathe more freely, then the wise men amongst them gradually ousted such worship and cults. But still the lure for them remained, the memory for the Unicorn too thus survived, hence we see a sort of superhuman but beneficent picture of it in the Pahlavi books. Much of its Proto-Irano-Indian character was lost, or but dimly remembered or was but a confused image of the original ass of the twin gods: *one of these confused notions developed into the three legs of the ass.*

In the Rig Veda, there is not the slightest trace of the above, there the ass of Ashvins is nowhere called 'three legged', yet still *their car is undoubtedly called triple, its wheels are three, and it is said to have three seats* (Rig Veda VII-69; V-73; VIII-74; X-85) and in one place (Rig Veda V-73, 3) its wheel is styled वपुश्चक्र, the Shining Wheel.

Turning to Bundelesh (XIX-1) we find these words "Khamrāye tartā regalman"—of these the last word is read differently by some: the above reading is that of Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, as given in his Gujarati Bundelesh kindly sent by him for my study. Now, with a slight alteration of 'regalman' to 'raj-laman'—this word which is translated almost unanimously by all as 'leg'—can be so translated as to bring it in a line with the Rig Vedic वपुश्चक्र (Raj from २० returning, revolving, originally it seems to have only

meant 'going' as can be seen from conjugational forms of 'Riž' even in Bundeshesh)—so this word from meaning 'going' can be taken to mean a goer—a wheel or car; and 'Laman' from 𐬨𐬀 shining, and 'Raj-laman' shining wheel or car. Nor can there be any difficulty in translating this word in the same way wherever it recurs in Bundeshesh—except in Bundeshesh XXIV-2 (Khamrāye safid goorbe regalman)—where on account of the 'goorbe' (a cat), 'regalman' can give no sense. But here too the word 'goorbe' is, I think, an attempt to substitute it for 'goorge' (a wolf) of perhaps the Dāmdāt Nosk, in which the Zend word for wolf *was* actually: and the wolf being of evil creation it could not be associated with the beneficent Unicorn, so the Pahlavi authors have put in its stead 'goorbe'; but the word 'goorge' was the proper one; its proper tradition was lost and so the Pahlavi authors were puzzled. Taking 'goorge' for 'goorbe' the above can be translated—'White ass-wolf of the shining car'—then it reminds us of the legend of Ashvin's ass which was disguised as a wolf and which Rijrasva fed with a hundred sheep. This is that legend which old Hindu commentators give to explain Rig Veda I-116, 6.

By the above, it will be seen that the legend of the ass being very very ancient and the worship paid to it being reduced to mere form, the real character of this animal by the time of Bundeshesh was forgotten, and strange new traits were freely added to it. Moreover, some of the legends were lost, and so some traits of the ass and its entourage are twisted out of all recognition.

Again in Bundeshesh there is another trait to which there is no parallel in the Rig Veda; there the sacred ass is associated with the star Tishtrya. This trait seems to have been acquired after the separation of the Iranians from their brethren the Indians. In the Avestā (Yasht VIII-3) this star (or rather Yazad) is said to go to the Sea Vouru-

Kasha (the sea where the sacred ass is), so it appears that this association too, though it belongs to the period after separation, yet is very old, and it seems to belong to the period of the Yashts. Yet it has not come into Mazdian religion from non-Aryan sources. This association of the star with the Unicorn has its root in Aryan belief of the following facts.

First, from the Rig Veda it is manifest, that these Ashvins were originally gods of an agricultural people. In Rig Veda VIII-22, 6 and I-117, 12, they are depicted as *the first teachers of agriculture*. Their early characters are not divine, their attributes are more human than any of the other gods.

Secondly, the ass has been used from earliest times in Asia to draw the plough. As the Ashvins taught agriculture, they and their वाहन must have been venerated.

Thirdly, the connection between rain and agriculture is obvious, so it was perhaps this connection that was kept by the Iranians always in their mind, and

Fourthly, Ashvins being very clever physicians, the Indians kept this aspect more in front in their legends.

At first the sacred ass had nothing to do with the Yazad for rain. It has been detached from the Ashvins (gods of whom we have but a trace in the Avestā) at a very early period—most probably at the time when some of the Indo-Aryans were also in Asia Minor and regions around Urumia and Van; but after the separation of the last body of Indo-Aryans, the Unicorn or ass of Ashvins has been attached to Tishtrya, not only this but under the influence of the non-Aryans in these regions, as also under the influence of the star lore of the latter people, when Tishtrya was transformed into a star, the largest one in Monoceros, this sacred ass was also transformed and located with it in the sky,

and perhaps identified with the constellation of the Monoceros and the sea Vouru-Kasha was identified with the Milky-way.¹

On more point requires elucidation. Above, in one place, I have spoken about the pictures of Unicorn-Lion fights on the Persipolis ruins. Naturally the question arises that if the Unicorn was held sacred amongst the Iranians how is it thus degraded here? This can be answered as follows:—

In the Indian legends, these Ashvins are said to have learnt their art (Madhu Vidhya) from the Sage Dadhyach—the progenitor of the Atharvans (the Āthravans of the Avestā) and Herodotus speaks of a Deiocees,² the wise king of the Medes. I think this is Dadhyach. Herodotus

1 I beg to differ from the identification of the star in Yasht VIII hitherto accepted. For my identification please see *Jam-e-Jamshed* (27th May 1931). This myth is but an allegorical description of the position of Constellations in 40—50° N. Latitude at the time of Winter rains.

2 But we need not take his date to be about 800 B.C. In fact Herodotus does not give actual dates but indications. The Dīoces of Herodotus might well be the namesake of the progenitor and founder of the Medes—the ancient Deiocees. As to the date of this founder, it must be about 3850 B.C. when due to the conquest of Parashe or Barashe (near the Persian Gulf) by the Semites, the Indo-Aryans must have moved north and begun to settle in Media, forming small principalities on the way. (For my idea of settlements of the Iranians see page 23-29 of my pamphlet "The Date and the Country of Zarathushtra," 1912). Since then my studies have led me to think that along with the Medo-Persians, when starting from the Punjab some of the people we now call Indo-Aryans had also migrated to the Persian Gulf, thence to Media and back to India. This will account for Indian gods in Mitanni. The Indians seem to have kept on migrating between 3850 B.C.-800 B.C., some of the earliest and most cryptic verses of the Rig Veda being composed in Urumia and Van regions and the complete hymns in the Punjab.

also speaks of a tribe which he says lived in the Sulaiman mountains during his time. This tribe Spiegel identifies with the Dadhekai of the Avestā. So it is pretty certain that the Atharvans or Āthravans were in Media and had migrated later towards India on account of religious-economical feuds. The legend of Dadhyach, as detailed in the Rig Veda is very cryptic, it is hence very old; had *all* the Atharvans migrated to India along with the main body of Indo-Aryans, their progenitor could not have assumed such a mythical character in the Rig Veda (this by the way also explains why the 4th Veda received a tardy recognition amongst the Indians, it is the Veda of the last comers). Thus some of the Indo-Aryans parted at a very early period from the Iranians in the regions of Asia-Minor, Urumia and Van at two widely different periods—one long after Dadhyach (Deioces), carrying with them the earliest few hymns of the Rig Veda and the other during a later period carrying with them the 4th (Atharva) Veda (3850 B.C. and 800 B.C.).

The veneration for the Unicorn, therefore, seems to have belonged to the Medes—a remnant of the Atharvans—also a tribe hostile to the Achaemenians and which also cherished a hatred for the latter. No wonder then that the Unicorn is thus degraded on the walls of the Achaemenian palaces. It is but a sort of triumphal commemoration of the victory of the Achaemenians over their enemies the Medes.

Here I might as well say, in order to avoid misunderstanding, that the veneration for the 'sacred ass' was originally an animal worship of the Proto-Indo-Iranians. This worship of their less cultured brethren was *modified* into veneration by the wise Āthravans (Athravans) before the separation, and retained as such (veneration) upto a comparatively late period by a remnant of the.

Medes (the Athravans of the Avestā) and transformed into the Tishtrya myth.

Finally I will summarise my conclusions :—

- (1) All theories about the origin of the Unicorn, hitherto given, do not explain how this mythical creature could have acquired its chief traits.
- (2) All these traits can be traced to the ass of Ashvins and the sacred ass of the Iranians.
- (3) It was at first the animal worshipped by the less cultured of the Proto-Indo-Iranians in very remote times.
- (4) It was changed into veneration by the Atharvans first and second.
- (5) After the separation of the Indo-Iranians, this Unicorn acquired new traits amongst the Iranians and was attached to the angel of rain (Tishtrya) (See Bundelesh XIX where the Unicorn is depicted as its helper). In Yasht VIII-20 and 30 we *just see the beginning of this process*.
- (6) Still later (about 800 B.C. down), both, the Unicorn and Tishtrya, acquired starry forms and were located amongst the Constellation, under the influence of the non-Aryan peoples of the regions of Asia Minor, Urumia and Van.
- (7) On the other hand the Indo-Aryans¹ having migrated to the Punjab, in which were *first part* of Indo-Atharvans also, retained the more primitive attributes of the animal.

1 To avoid confusion I will call this the *first* migration of the Indo-Aryans from W. Asia to the Punjab or migration of the larger body with their (1st) Veda (part).

- (8) The Medes, that part of the ancient Atharvans that did not go with the Indo-Aryans (see 7 above) to the Punjab, venerated this animal upto a late period (that of the Achaemenians).
- (9) But the main body of the Atharvans migrated later than the majority of the Indo-Aryans to the Punjab¹ *before* the Unicorn was joined to Tishtrya.
- (10) Hence the tardy acceptance of the 4th Veda by the Indians.

¹ This I will call the 2nd Migration or Migration of *second* part of the Atharvans bringing to the Punjab their (4th) Veda.

A NOTE ON THE PAHLAVI WORD "MANG" IN THE ARDAI VIRAF- NAMEH.

BY VICAJI DINSHAW, ESQR., CIVIL SURGEON (RETD.).

In the Journal No. 19 of this Institute is printed an article by Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., entitled "A few notes on an old Manuscript of the Persian Viraf-Nameh," recently presented to the Cama Institute by an anonymous friend. In that article occurs a word "mang" and I beg to submit a note on this word.

The Pahlavi word 𐭣𐭥 "mang" (Persian منگ) is identified with "rhubarb," "the henbane plant," in Gujarati with "રેવચિની-રેઈ બાંગ," and by Haug with "banga". But all these plants are not one. The Gujarati terms "રેવચિની-રેઈ બાંગ" stand for rhubarb (*Rheum Officinale*), which is a purgative. One of its kind (*Champagne Rhea*) is used in Europe for preparing a low kind of champagne. There is another plant (*Hyoscyamus Niger*) which is the common Henbane. It is a narcotic. The third plant "banga" is that from which the intoxicant "bháng" is extracted; it is *Cannabis Indica*, whose fumes, the Scythians used to inhale. But this plant is rather known in Persian as بنگ instead of as منگ, though from the infinitive منگیدن, to mutter in rage or delirium, this plant may have come to be known as منگ.

But I think, until it can be definitely established that such a narcotic preparation as "bháng" or Henbane or Rhea used to be employed by the ancients for ceremonial purposes, we should not be dogmatic.

On the other hand attempt should be made to seek out a plant, preparations of which are used in ceremonials still by a kindred nation to the ancient Iranians, and to which a word like "mang" is applied in an allied Aryan tongue. Such a plant is of the Leguminosae order, and grows widely in Europe and Asia. One plant of this order is *Phaseolus Roxburghii* (Whight and Arnot); its pulse is called in Hindi as *थिक्री मूंग* (thikri-mung). This *मूंग* (mung) is called *માગ* (mag) in Gujarati. Our Hindu brethren still use cakes and balls made out of its meal in their ceremonials. This shows that the word *مک* is the same as *मूंग* (mung) or *માગ* (mag). But the word "mang" is not met with in Sanskrit. However there is an Arabic word *مڭ* which means *मूंग* (mung) or *માગ* (mag). This same pulse is also called *مڭ ماش*; and the word *ماش* is also used singly for *थिक्री मूंग* (thikri-mung). Thirdly, another kind of *मूंग* (mung) is the *Phaseolus Mungo*. Hence *Phas: Roxburghii*¹ or better *Phas: Mungo* is probably the *منگ* in Persian and Pahlavi.

Moreover, from the words "Ās" and "Akameh" which are associated with *منگ*, I am more inclined to think that this pulse *मूंग-माग* (mung-mug) was used as a delicious offering to the Manes (Pitris) by the Indo-Aryans. I take Ās = *آش* (āsh), a gruel; and Akameh = not sour or delicious, an antonym of *کمه* (sour); the word *جام* = a bowl.

Thus Viráf seems to have been given three bowls of the delicious ambrosia of the gruel made from the pulse of *Phas: Mungo*, to which miraculous (but not narcotic) properties were probably attributed by the ancient Iranians, just as the cakes and balls of the same pulse are even now considered by our Hindu brethren.

¹ Dr. Royle thinks that the root of this *Phas: Rox*; contains a narcotic principle.

DARAB HORMAZDYAR'S RIVĀYAT. A FEW NOTES ON THE STUDY OF AN EARLY PART OF ITS CONTENTS.*

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, K.T., LL.D.

INTRODUCTION.

I had the pleasure of writing an Introduction for the lithographed Text, in two Volumes, of the Persian Rivāyat of Darāb Hormazdyar,¹ prepared by the late Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala, and now published as a posthumous work by his family. While cursorily running over the text for writing the Introduction and for preparing the contents, I thought of leisurely studying the Rivāyat, rather more deeply, and that from a comparative point of view. I thought, that it was important to compare some of its matters, with what was said of them in previous Parsee books and with the present practice, and to compare some of the old beliefs, customs, manners, etc., referred to in it, with those of other people. The Introduction of the Text itself was the result of several months' work at leisure hours after office work. The present paper is the result of some further study of the book.

* A paper on a part of this subject was read before the Jarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnāri Mandli, at its meeting of 24th November 1922, at the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. Similar papers on cognate different parts of the subject in details were read before the same Mandli on 1st, 8th and 22nd July and on 5th August 1921.

1 Darab Hormazdyar's Rivāyat, by Ervad Manockji Rustomjee Unwala, with an Introduction by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (1922).

I

The first Volume opens with the alphabets into two sets.¹ The first set is headed as *حروفهای* Alphabets. *یازند یعنی پهلوی*. The second is headed as *حروفهای اوستا و زند* (p. 2). As to the first, the Pahlavi or Pazend alphabets, the order of the letters is one which differs from those given by our recent authors, who all also have not followed the same method. The Rivâyat follows well-nigh the order of the Persian alphabet. Ervad Kavasji Nusserwanji Kanga² has followed more closely the order of Persian alphabets. Drs. Haug and West have followed most closely the order of Persian alphabets, *alif*, *bê*, *pê*, etc.³ Dastur Dr. Peshotan Behramji Sanjana has followed the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, which order is followed by our Gujarati Mahrathi alphabets.⁴ Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, who has named his Pahlavi Series "Pahlavi-Pazend Series,"⁵ also gives the alphabets in the order of Persian alphabets. But the order of the alphabets in all these authors varies a little.

In the second set of alphabets, termed Avesta va Zend also, the Rivâyat follows an order of its own, mixing up the vowels and consonants. Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha,⁶ Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga,⁷ and Mr. Tehmuras

1 The existing old Mss. in the present forms of their binding, do not begin with the alphabets. *Vide* my Introduction to the Lithographed Text, pp. 40-41.

2 પાંડેશ્વર અવસ્તી, તેની પેહેલની માએની ગ્રંથી. ૧૮૫૨ ઇસવી.

3 An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary (1870), Appendix V. The Pahlavi Alphabet, p. 25.

4 A Grammar of the Pahlavi Language (Gujarati) (1871), pp. 2-3.

5 "Lessons in Pahlavi-Pazend," Part I (1908), p. 1.

6 Brief Outline of Zend Grammar for the Use of Students (1863).

7 A Practical Grammar of the Avesta Language.

Dinshaw Anklesaria¹ all follow the order of Sanskrit alphabets.

After the alphabets, follow a kind of memoria technica, which seems to have been intended for children. We, in Bombay, are not familiar with it. Even the children of the present generation at Naosari, the headquarters of the Parsee priesthood, are not taught this. It was taught about 50 years ago at Naosari. But the Parsees at Udwarda still teach this memoria technica² to the children. It seems that, at first, the children were taught to read their Avesta prayers in Avesta characters, and not in Gujarati characters, as at present. So, the children began their very first lessons with the Avesta alphabet and this memoria technica was supposed to help them. When I was at Udwarda, about seven years ago, I learnt that, in the ritual of the Naojote ceremony there, the recital formed an important part. It seems, that the learning of the alphabet was thought to be a religious or pious duty, as it helped the initiates to read their scriptures in its original characters. So, its recital formed a part of the Naojote ritual. Though, nowadays, the prayers are taught in Gujarati characters, the former practice of the recital of the Avesta alphabets in the form of their memoria technica continues. I give below this memoria technica in Gujarati characters, as now recited :

(બનામે યજ઼દ બબશાય઼દે દાદગરે દાદાર પ નામે યજ઼દાન) ગગગઅ
ઘઘઅઘ અઘઘઅઘ બબોબબપ્રએ કુરએલે જજજઅપ્રએ સપસઅપ્રએ
જસનાંમ અનાનયએમ દદદઅ થથથઅ વબબઅ ફફફઅમમમઅ વખવખ-
અપ્રએ જયયએ આઓ ઉઅઓ ધૂયએ અમામીએમ ધવેએ અધુમધ-

1 યજ઼રને બા નીરંગ (Yazashna bā nirang) (1888).

2 Sheriarji Dadabhoj Bharucha speaks of these as possibly certain aphorisms like those of Panini (*vide* his paper "On the Accurate Pronunciations of the Avesta," in the Spiegel Memorial Volume, edited by me, p. 55).

ગગાય ગગા ગગુ વધરયો (૧) ગગેમ વેહુ (૧).¹

I think this *memoria technica* was intended to group the letters according to the similarity of sounds. For example, the first word ગગાય (*gagaya*) is meant to say that there are three forms of 'ga' (ગ), viz., ગ and ગ and ગ (the second is the Pahlavi character). The next word seems to say that there are two forms of 'ang' (અ and ળ). The third word says that there are two forms of *kh*, viz., ક and ળ. The interposition of the next word ગગુ is not intelligible. Then the next form *zazay* says that there are three j's, viz., જ and જ and જ. The words after this group seem to have been meant for illustration, but are much corrupted. Then the next group is that of the dentals, ટ, ડ and ઢ and so on.

I think that we find the clue to the proper understanding of the efficacy of the recital of the Avesta alphabet in group, in an old Jewish custom or belief, which itself is traced to old Zoroastrianism. We read as follows in a book on Jewish Mysticism:—"Thus in J. R. BerachOth, 55 a, there occurs the remark, 6 Bezabel (the architect of the Tabernacle in the desert) knew how to join together (lě-tsa-rěf) the letters by means of which the heavens and earth were created'. This is because he was filled with the spirit of God with wisdom and understanding (Exodus XXXI, 3), and this wisdom is the same as that of Proverbs III, 19:—'The Lord by wisdom founded the earth.' This belief in the magic power of the letters of the alphabet can be traced to Zoroastrianism and ultimately to Chaldae—as Lenormant has shown in the *Chaldean Magic*."²

1 Vide "પાવ મહેલની કીયાઓ તેની ખુશીઓ સાથે," by Ervad Noshervan Nowroji Unwala (1922 A.C.), p. 168.

2 Jewish Mysticism (The Quest Series, edited by G. R. S. Mead) by Dr. J. Abelson (1913), pp. 100-01.

We see from this, that possibly, in olden times, some extraordinary influence or charm was attributed to a certain grouping of the letters of the alphabet and to its recital. It is the relic of this custom that we see in the old orthodox stronghold of Zoroastrianism in India.

II

YATHĀ, ASHEM.

Then follows (on page 3) the text of the Yathā Ahū-vairyō prayer. It is not correct. We find four errors: (a) The word Shkyaothnanām is given as Shkyaothenanām. (b) The word Khshathremchā is given wrongly as Khshathremchāi. (c) The words Ā yim are given as one word as āyam. (d) The word Dregubyō is given as Daregaobyō. We know that our children, almost all, of the last generation and many of the present generation, pronounced the text of their common prayers incorrectly. This Rivāyat suggests that the inaccuracy was not of the present times. It had begun about two to three hundred years ago and it has come down from generation to generation. The early religious preceptors, who learnt the prayers traditionally from mouth to mouth, continued the errors upto now. In spite of our efforts to learn and teach correct pronunciation, there are lapses here and there, and now and then, even now.

This prayer, otherwise known as Ahunavar,¹ very properly begins the Rivāyat, and the Ashem Vohu, otherwise briefly spoken as Ashem, very properly follows it. This order is seen in our usual words "Yathā ashem". We do not speak "Ashem yathā", when we speak of a person or

¹ The word Ahunavar is Av. Ahuna vairya, i.e., the Will (*vairya* from 𐬀𐬎𐬎, 𐬀𐬎𐬎, Lat. *valle*, Fr. *vouloir*, wish) pertaining to the Lord (ahu anghu).

child saying his few brief prayers (યથા ઋશેમ ભણવી). But this order of precedence is now inverted. We see that our recent prayer books give the Ashem first and the Ahunavar afterwards.

After giving the text of the prayer, our Rivāyat speaks—
 Different sub- of the following different subjects con-
 nected with it:—
 nected with it:—
 the Ahunavar.

- (1) The 21 words of the Yathā Ahū Vairyō prayer and their connection with the 21 nasks¹ on the authority of the Rivāyat of Behram Punjiyeh (p. 3).
- (2) The contents of the 21 nasks on the authority of (a) the Rivāyat of Kame Bohreh (p. 4), (b) of Nariman Hoshang (p. 7) and (c) of Shapur Bharuchi, (i.e., of Bharuch) (p. 9).
- (3) According to the Rivāyat of Bahman Punjiyeh, 7 out of the 21 nasks were on religion (*dini*), 7 on natural or physical subjects (*tab'i* طبعی) and 7 on astronomy and astrology (*najumi*) (p. 13).
- (4) The accounts of the nasks from the above Rivāyat end with statements that the recital of the nasks led to the removal of the influence of Satan, to the performance of miracles (pp. 7 and 9) and to circumstances that may lead to an early arrival of the future apostles (Behram) Varjavand, Peshotan and Hoshedar (p. 13).
- (5) Vazan (lit. weight), i.e., the influence of the recital of the Yathā Ahū Vairyō² to obtain successful results of

1 For the contents of the *Nasks*, vide my contribution in "The History of the Parsees" by Mr. Dosabhoj Framji, Vol. II, pp. 157-64.

2 The Yathā Ahū Vairyō formula is also spoken of as Ahunavar (Yasna XIX, 3). I will use this short word. For some further details about the Ahunavar, vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 341-48

various undertakings according to the Rivāyat of Bahman Punjiyeh (p. 13).

*Different *Mahls* (place, position). i.e., occasions, require the recital of several Ahunavars

Recitals of the Ahunavar on various occasions. for the successful results of the undertakings. The following table gives the number of recitals¹ :—

Works.	No. of Ahunavars.
(a) When you go out for a certain work, at each step (<i>murtabeh</i>) of that work, and on return home after finishing the work ...	1
(b) When you begin an important conversation with a person ; when you go before a learned (<i>âlim</i>) or great (<i>buzorg</i>) person ; when you go down into water or a river ; when you go to borrow money or to ask back the money lent ; on leaving and entering your house ...	1
(c) When starting for a journey (<i>safr</i>), so that Behram Yazad (the angel presiding over Victory) may keep you safe ...	21
(d) When you bless others ² ...	2
(e) When you begin a fight with somebody	6
(f) When you sow a seed (<i>tukhm-rizi</i>) or till the ground (<i>kisht kâri</i>) or plant a new tree, or do things of that kind (<i>misâl ân</i>) as regards cultivation ...	9
(g) Before cohabiting with your wife (<i>bâzan shehvat</i>) ...	6

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 343-46.

² It is for this reason, that the Tandarusti (Benediction) and the marriage prayers begin with two Ahunavars.

Works.	No. of Ahunavars.
(h) In case the woman is a virgin (<i>zan-i baker</i>), i.e., at the time of the first cohabitation after marriage	11
(i) When you propose asking one's daughter in marriage for your son or offering your daughter in marriage or for betrothal ...	15
(j) When your children go out for some good work (<i>kâr-i khair</i>) ...	6
(k) When you buy cattle or quadrupeds (<i>chehâr pâe</i>) or when you strike a peg in the ground for tying them (<i>mîkh ba râe bastan</i>) ..	10
(l) When you climb a mountain or ride to the height of a fort or cross a bridge ...	12
(m) When you go down a cave or in some underground place (depth <i>ta'am</i>) or into a cellar (<i>tah-khâneh</i>)	12
(n) On starting to go to another city or village, and on entering into that city or village	13
(o) When you have lost your way ...	13

At the end of this subject, it is said that Dadar Ahurmazd had told Zoroaster that Yatha Ahû Vairyô is the striker of the Devs and the protector of the *tan* (*zadâr-i Divân va pâshan-i tan*, p. 14). This is a reference to the Vendidad (Chap. XIX) where Zoroaster is represented as destroying Ahriman by the recital of the Holy Word. Ahriman himself declares that he is beaten by Zoroaster by the recital of Ahunavar (Ashisang Yasht, Yt. XVII, 20). The Sarosh Hadokht speaks of the Ahunavar as the best victory-giving prayer (*Ahûno vairyô vachâm verethra-jâstemo*, Yt. XI, 3). The Yasna (Chap. XIX) speaks of the efficacy of the Ahunavar prayer. As to what the Rivâyat says of the protection of the body by the Ahunavar, we have the oft-repeated prayer-sentence of the Avesta

(Ahunem Vairim tanam pâiti, *vide* Sarosh Baj): "The Ahunavar protects the body".

* On the subject of the efficacy of the Ahunavar prayer, the Rivâyat of Shapur Bharuchi (p. 14) differs, here and there, in the number, *e.g.*, the number of Ahunavars for cohabitation as given by this authority is 10, while Bahman Punjiyeh gave 6.

(6) The number of Ahunavars to be recited in the commencement of Yasna celebrated in honour of the different Yazatas is given on the authority of the Rivâyat of Kameh Boreh, Kameh Shapur, Dastur Barzoi, and Bahman Punjiyeh (p. 14).

(7) The numbers of Ahunavars to be recited in lieu of different prayers, when one does not know the prayers, are given on the authority of the Rivâyat of Kamdin Shapur, Bahman Punjiyeh and others (p. 15).

If one did not know the different prayers, which he had to recite, he could substitute for these, the Ahunavar and recite it a number of times, *e.g.*, 103 Ahunavars for the Khurshed Nyaish, 65 for the Meher Nyaish and so on.¹

The Rivâyat gives the meaning and the value or efficacy of the recital of Ashem Vohu on various occasions (p. 16).

In copying the text for this lithographed copy, the copyist has, by mistake, omitted some portion on p. 17, l. 4, after the word بخوانند (last but one word l. 4). The omitted portion is as follows:

و آن يك اشيم وهو كه بعد از خوردن نان بخوانی چندانش

1 For further details, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 342-43.

کرفه بود که بوقتهاء دیگر صد نوبت بخوانده باش و آن يك
اشيم وهو که بخوانند و بخسپند

The last word of third line *be justand* is miswritten by the copyist for *be-khuspand*.

The value or efficacy of the recital of one Ashem, if
The value of the recital of Ashem Vohu on different occasions. recited on just the proper occasion, is several times more than that recited on other occasions. The order runs as follows:

(a) The recital of *one* Ashem *before* meals as grace is equal in value or meritoriousness to *ten* on other ordinary occasions. (b) The recital of *one* *after* meals equals 100 on other occasions. (c) The recital of *one* before going to bed at night equals 1000.... (d) The recital of *one* on turning on the bed from one side to another (*dar pehlui ba pehlui*) equals 10000. (e) The recital of *one* on arising (*khâstan*) from bed in the morning equals 100000. (f) The recital of *one* when life departs (*jân kandan*) equals the value of the whole world with its contents. If the person himself who is on the point of death, is unable to recite an Ashem, then the friends who may be present may give an Ashem Vohu in the mouth (*dar dehân dehand*) of the dying person, *i.e.*, help him to recite word by word or themselves recite it near his mouth.

The present practice at times is for a near relative or friend to recite an Ashem Vohu in the ear of the dying person, so that he may, even by thought, follow it. Such a recital of the Ashem Vohu at the last moment helps the soul of the dying man to go from Hell (*i.e.*, if he is destined to go to Hell for his bad life) to Hamestagehân; and if destined for Hamestagehân, from Hamestagehân to Heaven; if destined for Heaven, from Heaven to the Higher Heaven (Garoth-

man, Garodemana of the Avesta, House of blissful songs); if destined for the Higher Heaven, from the Higher Heaven to the still Higher Heaven (Pashum Khân, the very first or the highest stage).

The meaning, purport and object of the Ashem Vohu prayer and a short dissertation of about two pages are given on the authority of the Rivayats of Kama Bohreh, Shapur Bharuchi and Sad-dar nazm (Chap. XC which is repeated in a slightly varied form on the authority of Andhiâru Peshotan Daji). The whole subject ends with 10 couplets, one of which gives that familiar advice that "Do not do to others what you think is not good for you."

هر آنچه نیاید پسندیده پس نباید پسندیده کردن بکس

Here, in this account of the meritoriousness of the Ashem Vohu prayer, we have an instance of how subsequent writers or commentators, at times, go on adding to the injunctions and precepts of former pious writers.

Instance of how subsequent writers and to the original injunctions.

The Avesta Hadokht Nask (Chap. I)¹ treats of the efficacy and meritoriousness of the Ashem. We there read that one who recites this prayer, which praises *Asha* or righteousness, praises Ahura Mazda Himself (*ibid.* 4-5) and His creation, water, earth, cattle, trees etc. It reaches in efficacy to the standard of the Ahunavar (s. 7). One Ashem recited before meals is worth 10, recited on other occasions (*ibid.* 11). One Ashem recited after drinking the consecrated juice with good thoughts, good words and good actions is worth 100, recited otherwise (*ibid.* 16). One Ashem recited before going to bed is worth 1000, recited otherwise (s. 22).

¹ Westergaard's Yasht fragment XXI, 1-17, p. 294. Vide "The Book of Arda Viraf" Text, Translation etc., by Hoshangji, Haug, West, pp. 271 *et seq.*, for the Text; pp. 303 *et seq.*, for Translation. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 346-49.

One recited on leaving the bed in the morning with good thoughts, words and actions is worth 10000, recited otherwise. One recited by a person on his death bed is worth the region of Khanirath. Now, comparing this with what is said above in the Rivāyat, we find several additions. The largest number of the Hadokht Nask, viz., 10000 is increased to 100000. When the Avesta speaks of the occasion of going to bed and rising from bed, the Rivāyat speaks also of turning from one side to another in bed.

III

THE SACRED SHIRT AND THREAD¹ (PP. 22-36).

Various rules, regulations and observances are mentioned on the authority of various Rivāyats and of the Saddar (Nasr). The tying of *kusti* is a kind of tying of the waist for the cause of religion (*kamar bandagi-i Din ast*),² and so, all should put it on, on coming to puberty (بالع).³ It reminds one of doing one's duty.

The idea of service (*bandagi*) to God is carried here further, and it is said for women, that those good faithful women, who, putting on the *kusti*, stand in the service of their husband, please God. That service is a

1 For the Avesta and Pahlavi writing on this subject and for the initiation of a child with the investiture of the sacred Shirt and Thread, *vide* my paper on "The Initiation Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XI, 454-473. *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 178-96).

2 The Dadistan-i Dini takes a similar view (Questions 38 and 39).

3 The word *مجرد*, i.e., 18 on p. 24 l. 1 is a mistake for 15. *Vide* Bombay University Ms. Vol. I, f. 117 A, l. 14.

kind of service of God. If they fail to say their daily necessary prayer of Khunshid Nyâish, it is pardonable as long as they, with the *kusti* on their waist, stand in the service of their husbands. We read (p. 25, l. 1 *et seq.*): "At the age of 15 when man put on the *kusti*, they shall say the Khurshed Nyâish. The women shall put on the *kusti* and, standing before their husbands and folding their hands upon their breast (*kash*), may offer their homage (*nemâz*) to their husbands and say: 'What is your desire? What is your order? (Tell me) that I may fulfil it. What is your wish (*morâd*)¹? (Tell me) so that I may act according to your wish'."

If the woman is unmarried or has no husband, she may put similar questions to her father, or, failing him to her brother, or, failing him to the elder (*sâlâr*) of the family. If she pays her respects nine times (*nuh bâr sejd burdan*) to such elders (husband, father, brother or elder), and is busy (*mashghul*) in the household work that they ask to be done, Dâdâr relieves her from the obligation of saying Nyâish, *i.e.*, the daily obligatory prayers. God says: "Every time that the husband is not pleased (*khushnud*) with his wife, I also am displeased with her."

All this shows that with the idea of symbolically tying the *kusti* on the waist was associated the idea of Service, of Duty,—service or duty to whom it was due,—from God, downwards. We read the word *nemâz* (homage) in this connection in the Rivâyat and this word *nemâz* which is similar to the Indian नमस्कार is the word *nemangh* of the Avesta, and it is said in the Vendidad (Chap. III) that one who shuns his *nemo*, his duty, is a thief.²

1 The letter *vav* 'and' after this word (p. 24, l. 3) is a mistake. BU (the Bombay University Ms.) (f. 117 a, l. 16) very properly gives it as *ke*.

2 *Vide* for *kusti* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 183-189.

The age of maturity, before which one must put on *kusti*, is 15. On the authority of the Rivâyat of Behedin Jâsâ, the age is given as 14. Seven is generally the age of investiture. Herodotus (I, 136) and Strabo (Bk. XV, Chap. III, 18) speak of the age of the commencement of education among the Iranians as five. A part of this education seems to have consisted of education for preparing for the investiture. Plato (1st Alcibiades 37) gives the ages as seven. The Vendidad (Chap. XV, 45) and the Dinkard (Dastur Peshotan Vol. XV, chap. 170) seem to support Plato. For unavoidable reasons, the investiture may be postponed to the age of 15.¹

It is further said, on the authority of the 46th chapter of the Saddar (Saddar Nasr),² that when the Dasturs speak of 14 years as the age of puberty, they take into consideration the nine months of the child's being in the womb of the mother (*neh mäh ke dar shekan-i mädar budeh and*, p. 25, l. 2). If one does not put on *kusti* at 15, he deserves to be stoned (*sangsär kardand*). Water and bread are unlawful (*harâm*) for him.

If one walks three steps without a *kusti* on his body, for each step, he incurs the sin of one *farmân* (فرمان). The Gujarati Rivâyat of Darab Hormuzdyar speaks of one *farmân* as 32 *tânks* (તાંક).³ The *diram* (درم) of the Persian Rivâyat is the *tânk* of the Gujarati Rivâyat. So, the sin of one *farmân* seems to be of the value of 32 *dirams*, i.e.,

1 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 179-180.

2 Vide "Saddar Nasr and Saddar Bundelesh," by Bomanji N. Dhabhar (1908), p. 35.

3 એ. રૂસ્તમજી બહાદુરજી દસ્તુર મહેરજી રાણાની રિવાયત. પા. ૨૧.

it can be atoned by a deed of the meritoriousness of 32 *dirams*. If one goes further than 3 steps without the *kusti*, for the fourth step he incurs the sin requiring the recital of 1200 *Yathâ Ahû Vairyô* (*Yathâ Ahû Vairyô ke hazâr va dowist deram sang*). This is said on the authority of the Epistle (*maktûb*)¹ addressed by the Dasturs of Persia to Manockshah Changashah.

Women also should put on the *kusti* continuously.

3. Women and From a question referred to (p. 23, l. 6),
the *kusti*. on the authority of the Rivâyat of Nari-
man Hoshang, it appears that, perhaps, at one time, in
some places, the women, when engaged in some good work
(*kâr-i-khair*) put on the *kusti*, but after that (بعد کار خیر),
removed their *kusti* from their body (*kushadeh mikunand*).
The reply prohibits this (*kushadeh kardan na mi shayad*).²

If one keeps *kusti* always on his body, he shares the
meritoriousness of the good deeds
4. Share in the Meritoriousness of co-religionists' deeds,
performed by his co-religionists in all
parts of the world, whether they be in
Kangdez or Kashmir or Irân vej.³

1 We do not know what particular letter is referred to. Perhaps the reference is to the Rivâyat of Aspandiyâr Yazdyr (1535 A.C.), addressed among others to him. (*Parsee Prakash*, I, p. 8. Vide my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 94.)

2 It is said that even now, in Persia, some Zoroastrians do not always put on the *kusti*. While travelling in Persia, in November 1925, I remember the Parsee chauffeur of our motor-car telling me that he did not put on the *kusti* always. He had it not when he drove our car.

3 Irânvej is spoken of here as Irân kaviz (ایران کوئز p. 23, l. 13). I do not understand why it is so called. Kaviz means "a measure, a bushel". Perhaps letter 'k' in the Pahlavi word *vizak* (*vizah*) has changed its place, by mistake, from the end to the beginning.

When one does not keep the *kusti*, he foregoes that advantage of co-meritoriousness.¹

It is said, on the authority of the Saddar Nasr, that the putting on of the four knots during the process of putting on the *kusti* shall be accompanied by four thoughts, viz., of (1) Unity of God; (2) Faith in the Mazdayasnân Religion; (3) Faith in the prophetship of Zoroaster; and (4) the trinity of good thoughts, good words and good actions. A number of verses from the Rivâyat of Bahman Punjiyeh also says the same thing. The sacred thread is put round the waist in three turns (*band* بند). These three *bands* symbolize *humata*, *hukhta* and *hvarshsta*, i.e., good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

Kusti is a symbol whereby the Iranians are distinguished from the non-Iranians. King Jamshed was the first to put it on. Minochehr had put it on, Spendârmad had put it on, when Minochehr saw her. Even the Ameshâspands had put it on when Zoroaster saw them.

It is said (p. 29, l. 6), on the authority of the Rivâyat of Kâus Kâmdîn, that it is the business of the Dasturs and Herbaes to weave the *kusti* out of 72 threads, and that, from white wool and not black wool (*siâh pashm*). The present practice is that the women of the priestly class

1 The idea at the bottom of this statement seems to be, that when one does a good act, he must not do it with the idea of having its meritoriousness confined to himself, but with that of sharing it with his whole community. This idea is reflected in the Dibacheh of Afringan, where the worshipper says, that he made his offerings etc. with a view, that the meritoriousness of the action may go to the treasury (Ganj) of God. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs," p. 382.

weave the *kusti* and the priests consecrate it with a special recital of prayer. Of late, women of the laymen class have been clandestinely weaving the *kusti*, and this having come to the notice of the women of the priestly class at Naosari, they raised a protest in the public Parsee papers and said that it is only their privilege to do so.

Darab Hormuzdyar describes the method of the investiture of a child with the sacred shirt and thread, not on the authority of any Rivayat or epistle from Persia, but on that of the Indian Dasturs. He says:

اما اینکه من نویسم از نسخه دستوران و هر بدان هند وستان و از فرموده قدیم
(p. 29, l. 12). The investiture is called Naozud (نوزود) and the following details are enjoined:

- (a) The child to have bath in the beginning.
- (b) To sit face to face before a Herbad with the face towards the Sun.
- (c) To put on a new cap (*kulah-i nao*).
- (d) The child to have a clean piece of cloth to make *panâm* (*padân*).¹
- (e) Then the Herbad must make a Patet before the child (*epish-i i patet kardan*) and the child also to do so. If the child does not know the Patet by heart, it may recite Ahunavars. All the other priests and laymen also shall recite the Patet.
- (f) The child to be made to stand facing the east (in the morning) and the sacred shirt to be given in its hand.

1 In the recital of the Patet, which forms a part of the ceremony, the making of the *panâm* or *padân* is necessary. It is made by folding the end of the long left hand sleeve of the dress (*jâma*) over the hand (*Vide* my paper on the "Prayer Gestures of the Persians." Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXV, pp. 516-20. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part III, pp. 182-89).

- (g) The following formula for accepting the religion shall be recited: "Din-i beh râst va darust he Khôdâ be khalk firastâd in hast ke Zartusht avordeh ast. Din din-i Zartusht din-i Ormazd dad-i Zartusht. Yathâ Ahû vairyô....." (p. 29, ll. 17-18). With the recital of the word "Shyao-thanânâm" in the Yathâ Ahû Vairyô prayer, the shirt shall be put on the child and the Ahunavar completed.

At present, (a) the above Pazend recital, spoken of as the Kalmeh-i Din, i.e., the Word of Religion, is preceded by the usual formula of Invocation, "ba nâm-i Yazad", etc., and by the formula of *razishtyâo*, *chistyâo*, which forms the *khshnuman* of the Yazata Din, which presides over religion. (b) Again, the recital of the Ahunavar is preceded by an A shem.

- (h) Then, the child is made to stand facing the direction of the Sun. During all the above ritual, the child was to face the East, whatever be the *gâh* or the part of the day. But now, when the sacred thread is to put on, he is to turn to the Sun. If the investiture takes place in the morning (Hâvan *gâh*), no change¹ of direction is required; but if it takes place in the afternoon (Uzairan *gâh*), then the child must face the West. The Herbad shall, standing at the back of the child, who is to catch hold of his hands (kudak har dodast-i Herbad muhakam giraftan, p. 30, l. 1). Then, the Herbad, holding the *kusti* in his hand, is to recite Ormazd Yasht upto "Vidhvâo mraotu".¹ Then, both he and the child are to recite the

1 We find from this account of the ritual, that the present practice of most of the priests, to recite "peresat Zaratushtro. Ahuram Masdâm" after "vidhvâo mraotu" is not correct.

Nirang-i kusti (Ahura Mazda Khodai). During this recital, the Herbad is to put on the sacred thread over the child. All this ritual is as at present.

- (i) Then both shall sit down on the carpet and the priest recite "Atha imā vacho" etc.
- (j) Then a mixture of pieces of dates (*pârcheh-i khurmâ*), nuts (*jauz*), rice (*biranj yâni châval*) shall be sprinkled over the child by the priest, with the recital of the *tan-darusti*, i.e., the Benediction prayer. The mixture used now-a-days varies a little. Now-a-days, they generally use grains of pomegranate in place of dates. Some use raisins also. Then, it is enjoined that all present are to hold, during this part of the ceremony, their hands on the head of the child. The Herbad is to go on throwing the above mixture till the recital of the *tan-darusti* is finished.
- (k) At the end of the ceremony, the child shall perform the Hamâzor¹ with all the people who have assembled to witness the ceremony.

We saw above, that after the investiture of the child

The Recital of with the sacred shirt and thread, the
the Hoshbâm, not officiating priest has to recite the prayer
enjoined. "athâ imâm vachô." This prayer precedes
the prayer, known as Hoshbâm proper, beginning with the
words, "Nemasé té ushbâm." In modern practice, the

¹ For Hamâzor, vide my paper on "The Kiss of Peace among the Bene-Israelis of Bombay and the Hamâzor among the Parsees" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 84-95. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 282-94. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 491-7 at present, this hamâzor by the child is not practised.

was put forth as an objection to the afternoon-investiture. Now-a-days, in Bombay, nearly 75 out of hundred are afternoon-investitures. So, some priests recite only a part of the Hoshbām, and some recite, in its stead, Doâ nām Setâyashnâ. To resort to the old practice of the Rivâyat seems to be the proper course.¹

The Rivâyat describes the ritual of preparing the *kusti*,

9. Nirang-i kusti under the heading نیرنگ کستی (p. 30, *buridan*, i.e., the Cutting and Consecrating of the Kusti. l. 15). The writer gives the *nirang*, but does not describe the preliminary parts which precede the *nirang*. I will refer my

readers for this subject to my book on Religious Ceremonies.² The Nirang itself is given by Westergaard, in his Miscellaneous Fragments, as Fragment one.³ It is translated by Spiegel⁴ and Darmesteter.⁵ It is given in Gujarati characters by Dadabhoy Cowasji in his Tamâm Avesta.⁶ According to the authority of one Rivâyat, this *nirang* is also to be recited by a person when he puts on a new suit of clothes. It is spoken of there as اوستای جامه نو پوشیدن⁷

1 In the Gujarati તમમ અવસ્ત (i.e., Complete Avesta) by Dadabhoy Cowasji (1240 A.Y. = 1871 A.C.) also, we find the ritual, as enjoined in the Rivâyat (Vol. I, Khordeh Avesta, p. 657).

2 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 184-85.

3 Westergaard's Text, p. 331.

4 Khordeh Avesta, Bleeck's Translation, p. 191.

5 Le Zend Avesta, Tome III, p. 1.

6 તમમ અવસ્ત Vol. I, p. 511, under the heading નીરંગ કુસ્તી એતરવાળી, i.e., the Nirang of cutting the *kusti*.

7 Darmesteter's Zend Avesta, Tome III, p. 1, n. 1.

When one performs the *kusti*, facing a *kebla* (the sun, the moon, or a lamp), nobody should pass in his front within about 100 steps (*gâm*), or on his right or left within 30 steps, in front and within 10 steps at the back. Even nobody shall walk over his head on an upper floor, or under him on a lower floor, within the above distances so as to be seen by him. This is from the Rivâyat of Kaus Kamdin. The Rivâyat of Kamdin Shahpur (p. 32) reduces the stringency to three steps generally. In the case of priests, who perform the *kusti* for higher liturgical services, the stringency is greater, viz., that of six steps. The point is, that when one looks to a luminary or a lamp, etc., to perform his *kusti*, another person shall not pass so close to him as to disturb him in his thoughts of prayer. At present, the general practice is to avoid passing close in one's front when he performs the *kusti*.

While performing the *kusti* ritual, one shall face the sun during the day and a lamp at night.

11. The direction for the *kusti*. If there is no lamp, he may face fire or moon, and failing these, the South (*nimrouz*). Thus, in the morning he has to turn to the East and in the afternoon towards the West.¹

The shirt and the thread must be whole and properly put on. The *kusti* must be put on the waist and it must not touch the naked body, but must be put on a white shirt, not a coloured shirt which is spoken of as the *pirâhan-i kusti* (پیراهن کسی) and as *namak* (نمک).²

¹ *Ibid.*

² P. 32, l. 18. Pers. *Nimeh* نیمه a half or short under garment.

While wearing the *kusti*, it should not be under the shirt (در فرو نگذاشته). The officiating priests must be very careful. If there may be one cut in the shirt this can be unavoidably tolerated. All must attend to these requirements but these are particularly essential for the priests who perform the *bâj* ceremony and consecrate the *darûn*. In the recital of the *Bâj*, one priest recites all the *Bâj* prayers with the *barsam* in his hand, and a number of others, instead of reciting themselves, only join him at the recital in the concluding portion. The latter are spoken of as *bâj-gir* (*bâj-gir* or *baz gir* بزرگ from *girâftan*), i.e., takers of *Bâj*. Among these, one who holds the *khûb* and recites the *bâj* in full, must be very particular about the soundness or perfection of his sacred shirt and thread.

According to the Rivâyat of Kaus Mahyar and Shapur Bharuchi (p. 34), when one performs the

13. The *kusti* and Women in Menses. *kusti*, a woman in menses should be at least 30 steps away from him, and according to another Rivâyat, 40 steps. Otherwise, the efficacy or the meritoriousness will be vitiated. They say that, in Persia, there were separate *Dastânastân*, i.e., places for menses, in most of the Zoroastrian quarters, where women of the quarters retired during the period of their monthly course. In India, even upto late, every house was provided on ground floor with a room or place where such women stayed during the period. When people from the upper floors carried *bâjs*, i.e., offerings of *Darûn*, fruit, etc., in closed vessels, to be taken to the adjoining fire-temples for being consecrated, the people carrying these things shouted from the steps of the ladders *अपि नः द्रष्टुं*, i.e., shut your eyes.

1 The women then shut their eyes, or changed their positions, so that they may not see the sacred offerings that were

carried to the temple.¹

Here, in the Rivāyat's account of the *bāj* and *bāj-gir*, i.e., the Mobad who takes or recites the *bājs*, there is a peculiar phraseology which helps us to determine the derivation of the word *bāj*. I have elsewhere derived the word *bāj* from باج or باژ, tribute. We speak of the anniversary of one's death as his *bāj*, i.e., the day of paying a tribute to his memory. The sacred offerings of that day for the ritual are also called *bāj*, i.e., our tribute to his memory. This view may perhaps be taken to be confirmed by the phraseology employed there.

Again, there is a difference of opinion, as to the meaning and derivation of the word *Shiāv* (શિવ). We speak generally as શિવ કુટી. Now, in this Rivāyat, we find the words *shib kustī*, (شيب كستی p. 33, l. 10). We read: شيب كستی یعنی پیراهن که در زیر کستی باشد: i.e., *Shib-kustī*, i.e., the shirt which is under the *kustī*. So, I think, the word શિવ is Pers. شيب which means "the lower part, under or below." The words, used for the sacred shirt in the Rivāyat, are *nimé* or *pirahan* or *shib*. We do not find the word *sud-reh* used in the Rivāyat.

1 Vide my paper on "Parsee Purificatory Ceremonies—Purificatory Processes in Daily Life for the observances of women in menses and their comparison with the injunctions of Leviticus and the writings of Pliny" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay), Vol. XI, pp. 363-75. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 171-77).

IV

PATET, i.e. ATONEMENT (pp. 34-39).

The account of the Patet¹ is given, first, on the authority of the 45th chapter of the Sad-dar Nasr, and then, on that of several Rivâyâts. The following matters are dwelt upon.

One must always be in a state of atonement (*tobah*), because, sin, if not atoned at once, increased every year. Righteousness (*kerfeh*) increases every year till the death of a man, i.e., if a man does righteous actions early in life, they go on increasing (*dîgar mîshavad*, i.e., lit. become the same again) every year. Same is the case with sin. It goes on increasing if left unatoned. This is a version of what we read in the Dadistan-i Dini (Chap. X).

It is well, if one atones before a Herbad or a Dastur or a Rad (chief). If the Dastur is not present, the atonement may be made before a priest, or one whom he may have appointed (سازنی که دستوران گماشته باشد). If no such appointed person be present, then it may be done before any person who is *ravân-dûst* (روان دوست), i.e., who is a friend of soul (i.e., a pious person who loves his soul better than his body). The Dastur should enjoin an atonement (*tojash*) in proportion to one's guilt. If he enjoins more than what is required, he himself becomes guilty (*gunahgâr*). If a Herbad (priest) himself commits a sin, a layman chief (*sâlâr*) can ask him to account for it and even punish him (p. 38, ll. 1-2).

1 For the Patet or Repentance-prayer, *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 98. *vide* my Gujarati Lecture ગુજરાતી અર્થે તેની પતેત, i.e. Sin and its Atonement, in my "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects", Part I, pp. 153-166.

The Pazend and Persian literature seems to show, that there was, in later Iran, something like a Confession. The words in the Patet itself "pish-i rad Dastur-i Dini" "and" "pish-i shuma vehân" point to this conclusion.

When a man is on the point of death, his son, daughter or any relative may make the sick dying man recite the Patet (patit dar dahan-i ranjûr dehand, i.e., lit. give the patet in the mouth of the sick man, p. 35, l. 1) and the Ashem Vohu.¹

3. Atonement at Death.

As an illustration of the efficacy of the Patet, even long after death, we find mentioned here a story of Ormazd, Zoroaster and Jamshed. Zoroaster wanted to see the soul of a great man who did not see an equal of himself in this world. Ormazd called the soul of Jamshed from the direction of Hell. It came like a paralytic person (*shal* شال p. 35, l. 12), walking on its knees, in tattered clothes and all ashamed. On Zoroaster's inquiring of him, God said, that he was Jamshed Vivanghân, who had refused a new religion offered to him before his (Zoroaster's) advent and who, though endowed, as desired by him, with all the blessings of the world, had, under the influence of Ahriman, showed mispride and had claimed himself to be God. Jamshed thereupon addressed Zoroaster to take a moral lesson from his life and downfall. Then, Jamshed repented and said a *patet*. Thereupon, he was removed from Hell and sent to Hamestagehân.

We know that Pahlavi writers have gone on amplifying and adding what is said in the Avesta; and so, the Persian writers of the replies to questions from India also went on adding a number of their own views to those in the Avesta and Pahlavi books. We find this thing going on further in the Gujarati version of this part of the Darab Hormazdyar's

1 For the recital of the Ashem Vohu when one is on the point of death, vide above S. II Gathâ Ashem.

Everybody should do his best to say his Patet every day, but, if, unavoidably, he cannot, then he may enjoin somebody else to do so for him. 4. One himself must say his Patet. But, even in that case, he himself must recite at least these words: " az har vanâh, am goft, am kardeh, am justeh, am manîd, avâkhsh pashimân be patit hom"; i.e., "I repent, with atonement, of every sin which I may have uttered or done, or sought, or thought" (p. 36, ll. 18-19).

In reply to a question, whether, if one enjoins to another, that on his death the other may go before the Dastur and say a patet on his behalf (از جادو)¹, that is good or not, it is said, that one must do his best to say his patets in his life-time. If that is not possible, the patets on his behalf may be said on the day when his body is disposed of (*parhizend*,² p. 37, l. 12)^o, or failing that, during the first three nights after death. If that even is not possible, under the circumstances, they may try (*tokhsh kunand*) to say it later.

The best day in the year for making atonements is
roz Râm, *mah* Meher (p. 38, l. 5). No
reason is given, but it appears that,
Meher month is preferred, because it is
the month named after Meher (Mithra), the Judge presiding

1 *Jada* or *jadeh*, a highway, a straight path.

2 *Parhiz*, lit. taking care of him or abstaining from him, cf. the present phraseology *પરહેઝુ*. It seems to be a euphemistic word like *અજ્ઞ મેજ્ઞ*.

at the final justice on the dawn of the fourth day. As to Râm, we know, that the Yazata Râm is associated with Meher in the judgment of the dead, on the dawn of the third night after death, when a man's soul is asked to account for his actions.¹

V

MANURE FOR CULTIVATION.

This section or chapter (p. 38) must be taken an extension of the preceding subject of Patet for sins, because it also treats of the sin or unlawfulness of using as manure, excrement² of animals without treating it in some way which could

1 The BU Ms. gives the following additional subjects connected with Patet (f. 123a). The whole subject at the end (f. 143b) is spoken of as the Chapter (باب) of Patet :—

(a) The 49th chapter of Sad-dar nazm on the subject of sin.

(b) Patet Irani in Avesta characters.

(c) Patet-i khud in Avesta characters, i.e., the Patet which one himself must recite (*ke khud kardan va khud goftan*). In its recital, in one place (f. 143b, l. 18) after the words, *gunah shukasta* (i.e., sin may be destroyed), a ritual is prescribed in Avesta characters as *ê chapari zadan*, i.e., to strike three *chapari*. The word *chapari* (چاپاری) seems to be Gujarati છાપા a blow, a slap. In the Vanant Yasht's recital, we are asked to strike તાલી, i.e., hand on hand. That is a symbolic expression of striking or removing an evil idea. The modern practice observed by some, when these words are recited is to snap the fingers thrice, spoken of as તપાલકી (તપાલકી) ફેલવવી, and intended to indicate dislike.

(d) Another Patet, which is spoken of as "Another Patet." It is said that, on this side (*dar in janeb*, i.e., in Persia) all priests, and laymen, all persons, recite this Patet.

(e) Patet-i vadardegan, i.e., in honour of the dead. This is what is now known here as રવાન-ની પતેત.

2 سرکین دلدن (Pahl. Vendidad, VI, 32), excrement.

exclude it from being a *nasâ*.¹ The sin of using as manure the excrement of non-Zoroastrians or jud-dins is great. It is like that of a kind of lower *margarzân gunâh*.

For people who are very particular about keeping away impurities (*nasâ*) from water and fire, the question of the use of animal manure, i.e., the excrement of animal is an important one from a religious point of view and present many niceties. The questioner says: If one, who has wife and sons and daughters, does not use animal manure or excrement (*sargin*) on the land which he tills¹, his land does not give him half the crop which can be yielded if he does use it, and which can then help their life (زوش)². In reply, we gather the following injunctions:

1. The manure from the excrement of cattle is perfectly lawful, if it has not come into contact, for one year, with *nasâ* (i.e., blood, menses, etc., p. 29, l. 3).
2. That from the excreta of co-religionists (*hudinân*, i.e., of good religion, same as Beh-dinân) is lawful if treated as follows (p. 28, l. 14):
 - (a) It must be exposed in a desert (*sahrâ*) to the sun four times (*chehâr bar³ âftâb barash mi-tâbad*), i.e., to say for four days. It seems that, if one or two of the days are cloudy and the sun does not shine well, the exposure must be continued for a day or two more.
 - (b) Then, it must be exposed to rain for four times (*chehâr bâr bârân barash âyad*), so that it

1 Our edition omits by mistake (on p. 38, l. 12) the word *کرد* after *فرزند دارد*. We find it in BU (f. 144a, l. 1).

2 Obsolete, from *zistan*, to live. In the next extract of another Rivâyat, the word is *زیست* *zist*.

3 In the next extract it is *chehâr mâh*, i.e., 4 months.

may be moist (نم شود).¹ If rain does not fall four times, they must wait till it comes.

3. The manure from the excrement of Jud-dîns (non-Zoroastrians), is unlawful (dastûrînist, p. 38, l. 15). A question according to Kaus Kama's Rivâyat is this: "If I do not carry excreta to my fields, I cannot live. If I sell off my land, the same will be the result and my children will meet with distress (p. 39, l. 6) and we shall have to (purchase and) eat various things from the hands of the Jud-dîns which have grown on their fields. If on the other hand, I keep my land, I can take care of my children."

The reply is, that the excrement from an un-Iranian (un-Irân, i.e., a Jud-din) is like *hakhugarâi* (مخوگرای, i.e., filth.² They do not abstain from anything, and every foul thing is mixed in their excrement, e.g., menses and blood. So, the use, as manure, of that excrement, which contains *nasâ*, is like carrying water to *nasâ* and *vice versa*, because, in watering the fields, water comes into contact with that *nasâ*-containing excrement. This is a *margarzân sin* (p. 39, l. 11). The reply to the question further says (p. 39): "You advance your poverty (*mûstmandî*) as an argument for using as manure the excrement of everybody, even a Jud-din or un-Iranian, but I, in reply, have to put forth the 'distress of the water and fire' (*ranjur-i-âb va atash*), because water would be distressed (*ranjûr*) to come into contact with the *nasâ* in the excrement of the Jud-dîns. Do what is less sinful." Even in the case of co-religionists

1 This is the wording of the extract from the Rivâyat of Kaus Kaman. The corresponding word in the preceding extract is not clear.

It may be نجو *naju*, i.e., excrement.

2 Perhaps it comes from بگور *bagur* or بگور *bagur*.

extra caution is enjoined, if a child or old man (*kādaki ya buzorgi*) is ill and passes blood (*khūn-i-shekam bashad*, p. 39, l. 13), care must be taken that the blood may not mix with the excrement.¹

VI

TRUTHFULNESS AND COLLATERAL SUBJECTS,
SUCH AS (1) A TRUTHFUL PERSON, (2) PROMISES,
(3) OATHS AND THE BOOK OF OATHS, (4) CON-
TRACTS OF SALE AND PURCHASE, (5) TRIAL BY
JUDGES, INCLUDING ORDEALS, (6) DEBT AND
INTEREST, (7) RIGHTS OF PARTNERSHIP,
(8) PROFITEERING.

The subject begins (p. 40) with a dissertation on Truth, based on *Sad-dar Nasr* (chap. 62).² Both Truthful man. the worlds exist in Truth. Resurrection is the result of Truth. Ahriman is afraid of Truth. One truthful man is better than a whole world of liars. Take, for example, the blacksmith Kaveh, who, speaking the truth, showed himself in a better light than Zohak who spoke untruth. Ahriman fell senseless (*bîhâsh*) on account of falsehood. The prayer of Ashem Vohu must be recited oftener as it speaks of truth. Then follow verses in praise of Truth from the *Rivâyat* of Bahman Punjiyeh, in which God praises Truth before Zoroaster. A liar is a co-laborateur (*ham-kâr*) with Ahriman.

Meher-daruji³, i.e., breach of promise, is condemned in a metrical composition giving God's reply to Zoroaster on the subject (p. 42). (a) One

2. Breach of Promise. Its various forms.

1 During my visit of Persia in 1925, I saw that, at Yazd, the excrement of human beings was freely used as manure. Zoroastrian cultivators themselves carried it from Zoroastrian houses on their *sukha*.

2 Mr. B. N. Dhabbar's *Sad-dar*, p. 48.

3 The *Meher Yasht* speaks of the sin of *Meher-daruji*.

who breaks his promise is condemned to Hell for 300 years. (b) If the promise was made by the contact of hand¹ ("dast ba dast zanad", referred to in the Avesta as Zasta Mithro), the punishment is for 500 years (do se sad sâl). (c) Those who break promises in the matter of the purchase of smaller cattle (gusfand) suffer for 700 years. (d) If the breach is in the matter of water, i.e., if one promises to give another water from his well and then breaks the promise, the punishment in Hell is for 800 years (p. 43, l. 1). The punishment goes on increasing in proportion as the breach of promise is in the matter of (e) the purchase of quadrupeds like cow, camel, horse, (f) marriage, (g) pupilage, i.e., a pupil breaking his bond and showing coldness (sard) or disrespect to his teacher (ustâd), (h) contract for *naojud* (*naojote*), i.e., the contract made by an initiate to be trained by an adept or expert for a certain grade of initiation, (i) contracts in connection with land. The punishment goes on increasing upto 1000 years in Hell.

To take an oath is generally wrong. The evil resulting from a false oath cannot sufficiently be washed off by good deeds, such as giving a gift to a Fire temple, or saying a *patet* (خواستۀ باتشان دهد و خواسته در کیشہ کرفہ کند و از ان گناه پتہ کند) p. 44, l. 12). However, if one knowingly takes a false oath, and takes a vow that, in return of a wrongful act, he will do such and such a good act, e.g., offer a gift to a Fire-temple, though the very act of taking an oath is in itself wrong, he is bound to act according to the vow and to do the good act; otherwise, the burden of his sin increases. Though swearing is in itself wrong, though a false oath is in itself a sin, if one has vowed to do a good deed as an

1 In the next extract from the Rivâyat of Shapur Bharuchi, this second breach is spoken of as that of *bai* بیع, i.e. sale or commerce (p. 43, l. 14). Vide Vend. IV for the six kinds of promises.

atonement for that sin, he must do that deed. He cannot withdraw from the moral responsibility of doing that good act; for example, if one were to say that he would give so many hundred or thousands in charity, he must do that good act and give the money, irrespective of the question, that the vow for that good act was taken in connection with an act which was wrong, and which he, from the first, knew to be wrong.

The subject of oaths is followed by a Sogand-nameh or Book of Oaths¹ (pp. 45-54), which ends with the golden advice "Do not take an oath whether true or false."

ز سوگند خوردن دروغ و ز راست
حذر کن که سوگند یکسر خطاست •

(p. 46, ll. 17-18). This is, as it were, a Persian version of Ādarbad Ma'espand's advice "al pavan rāst al pavan kadbā sogand vashtmun".² This Sogand-nameh is followed (p. 47) by a long statement, as to how cases may be decided in case of disputes between complainants and defendants, about the sale and purchase of things. This is followed by another and longer Sogand-nameh,³ which also ends with couplets advising never to swear.

مخور سوگند برخلاف و بر راست
که سوگند خوردن کاری خطاست

1 *Vide* my paper on this subject read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 27th April 1921 (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, pp. 202-244. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 72-92).

2 Pand-nameh of Ādarbad Ma'espand, s 41. Ervad Sheriarjī Dadabhoj Bharucha's Ed, p. 3. *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 151-52.

3 BU has its Sogand-nameh from f. 147 b to 152 a.

What we learn from this long subject of oaths is, that, laying aside the questions of the feasibility of some of the ordeals, oath was not a mere formality. If once given, it was intended to evoke truth and nothing but the truth.

There is a good deal in this section which requires the patient study and attention of a law student, to elucidate the state of civil and criminal law among the Zoroastrians of the mediæval times, when all laws were as it were religious laws.

4. Contracts of Sale and Purchase (p. 47) and Suits about them.

In matters of sales and purchases, people must stick to their contracts. If one breaks the contract, he commits Meher-daruji, and the road of Heaven will be closed against him (râh-i Behesht bar vaê bastê shavad). The Dâvar (judge) may ask for witnesses (gavâh). If there be these witnesses, the Dâvar may weigh their evidence. At times, there may be only one witness to a transaction, e.g., in a desert (biâbâni, p. 47, l. 7). In that case, the judge may tell him that, "If you give false evidence, and, if thereby, there is a miscarriage of justice, the responsibility of the misery of the other party will be upon your shoulders (bar gardan-i tô bâshad). In such cases also, oaths shall not be given in matters of doubt (ân ke dar gumân bâshad, l. 9), but only in matters without doubt (ân ke bî-shak bûvad sogand dâdan).

If there be a thief (l. 10), and if somebody's things are stolen and found in the house of another person, for which a third party gives evidence, that he saw these things with the second person to whom they were not sold, then the things may be taken possession of and given to the owner (khudâvand).

In case of things purchased from a thief, a person may

be given his wages for going (pai-muzdi پاي مزدی)¹ after the thief, and the thief got arrested and punished and a fine (tāyān) taken from him. In case the thief is not traced, then, both the parties—the person whose things were stolen and the person who innocently purchased these, not knowing that they were stolen things,—may suffer the loss by halves.

This section (pp. 47-54) treats of various such transactions, *e.g.*, (a) A person may entrust his goods to another for sale and he (the latter) is robbed in the way; (b) the cattle of a person damages the trees or cultivation on another's estate; (c) a person sells to another some cattle and the cattle dies no sooner it goes into the possession of the purchaser and a witness testifies that the cattle was suffering from some disease before the sale. If the complainant (pīsh-māli) and a defendant (pas-māli) go before a judge, how the matter should be heard with evidence from one side or the other, as given by a chief or interpreter (vajar-gar) or by a person who held trials or ordeals by barsam (barsam-var) or by a sepās-dar. This is a reference to justice done by some kind of ordeals by men of the priestly class. A sepās-dar also seems to be a member of the religious order who says something on the affirmation of humata, hukhta and hvarshta (p. 48, l. 9).

The evidence of those who hold such religious ordeals (gavāhi bā dīn) shall have acceptance (padirashni) from the Judge. As opposed to the above kind of religious witnesses (gavāh bā dīn), are mentioned *gavah bā dīram*, *i.e.*, witnesses by money. Perhaps, by these are meant

1 The Parsee Gujarati word પાયામુજી 'pāyāmuji,' used for payments to the priests who go after the dead to the Towers of Silence, is a corruption of this word, which means "wages (mozd) given to people who go to the Towers on foot".

ordinary non-religious witnesses, who are required to be paid their fees for attendance. Generally, the number of witnesses are spoken of as three. If the third is not coming forth, and there are only two, oath may be given. If the property in dispute is worth less than 48 dirams, then oath shall not be given. When oath has to be given, it may be given after explaining to the parties, the great responsibility of speaking on oath and of the divine punishment for false oath.

If a person on a false oath denies having taken one diram from another and then spends 1000 dirams on the performance of religious ceremonies like Yazashna, Gâhambar, and Farvardiân, and helps Khityodath, these religious ceremonies will not wipe off the wrongful act. Neither will the sin be wiped off, nor will the expenditure bring him any meritoriousness. All the latter will be of no avail.

In rare cases, when the judge comes to this state of mind after hearing the case as would
 7. Ordeals in Rare cases. make him say, "I have no doubt that one of you speak untruth; and so, I do not know which of you speak a particle of truth:" then he may have recourse to an ordeal, and remind both parties of the Ordeal of Fire by Siâvakhsh and Âdarbâd. He may also tell them of the story of Sekandar Rumi who came to Persia and killed Dara and burnt many of the books of Avesta and Zend and Pazend and ruled for a time. When religious affairs came to difficulty and when Ardashir Babegan came to throne, Ardai Viraf was sent to the spiritual world. Then, in the time of Shapur Ardashir, the Mobadan Mobad, Âdarbad Maraspand, who, on his father's side, was descended from the family of Zoroaster, and, on his mother's side, from the family of king Gushtasp, said: "If you have any doubt about the truthfulness of the Mazdayasnan religion,

I am prepared to take an ordeal about its truthfulness. ... I will pour nine maunds of molten metal¹ on my breast." Adarbad sat cold-bodied before 17000 persons and poured nine maunds of molten metal over his bosom and was not hurt. He thus convinced the people about the truthfulness of the visit of Viraf to the next world. The judge of ordeals may, after narrating the above story, ask that either the complainant or the defendant may go through such an ordeal. As a last resource, he may give an oath, the wording of which is given at some length (pp. 51-52). In fact, this is a longer form of a *sogand* (oath).²

If one has borrowed money at certain interest (*sûd*) (p. 54, l. 14), which he pays regularly, 8. Debt and Interest. and, if being, unavoidably, not in a position to return the money at the time fixed, offers higher interest to the lender at the end of the period, with a view that he may continue the loan, the lender, in the case of such a helpless person, must not accept the offer of a higher rate of interest. The lender must not charge interest higher than that which those conversant with religion (*dîn âghâhân*) and kings have fixed. But, if the other party offers of his own accord (*khush-dili*), he may, unavoidably (*az sar-mândgi*), accept it.

1 روی for روین.

2 Before coming to the next subject of Debt and Interest (*vâm va sût*), the BU MS. (f. 152a, 5-6) gives a small para on the authority of the Rivâyat of Narinan Hoshang, which is important from the point of view of the duty of the elders of a community. It says that, if an elder or a head of the community (*بزرگ سرفوم*) is in a position to prevent somebody from committing a sin or a fault, and does not prohibit (*مانع نکند*), he is responsible (lit. the sin sits on his shoulders).

In suits for the demand of money between Behedins, 9. The method of *i.e.*, co-religionaires, evidence given by conducting cases by the Judge. p. 55, l. 10. aliens (jud-dins) of good character shall be accepted. Evidence of brothers of parties, if they have no interest (juz-behr, lit. without share) (p. 55, l. 17) in the case, may be accepted.

In suits, the judge (dâvar), must first hear the complainant (pish-mâl, p. 56, l. 3), and then the defendant (pasmal), and then the evidence from the complainant. If the complainant has human wants (zarurat), and if he is *jar-gar*,¹ *i.e.*, bent on dragging the defendant to court, that is sufficient. If he has no evidence and if he is not insistent, if he produces two witnesses for the negligence (sahv) of the defendant, that is sufficient. Debts due to Jud-dins, *i.e.*, persons of other religions, must also be paid faithfully. Not to do so is a sin of Meher-daruji. One must not take anything by violence even from a jud-din. Anything taken by violence should be returned at four times the value of the thing so taken. If a person shows hostility to religion (dushmani ba din kunad), then, in that case, taking a thing by violence may be permitted.

If two persons jointly own land or field, one partner cannot, without the permission of the 10. Rights of Partnership p. 56. other, take from the land, *barsam* (barsam chinad, *i.e.*, take the twigs of the pomegranate² tree). He may take these on very rare occasions, when he is in great want (nâchar), and, if by so doing, he does not cause loss to his partner.

Then there is an interesting passage, on the authority of the Sad-dar Bundelesh, about profiteering 11. Profiteering. p. 58. in one's city. It is said, that a merchant may purchase things in his city and sell

1 *Jar* committing a crime; dragging forth an offender for punishment. 2 *Vide* Dastur Hoshang's Vendidad Glossary, p. 55.

these in another at higher prices, because he has also to provide for the hire of the quadrupeds for transport (muzd-i chehâr pâe) and other expenses (نَافَکَه nâfkê). He may give one-tenth of the profits in charity (kâr va kerfê). But, it is sin, if he buys things in his own city and sells these there at higher prices. No sin is worse than this, that one may buy wheat and keep it for some time till it gets dear and sells it with profit. One, who deals in such a kind of filthy work (khui) of profiteering, is sinful and responsible for the scarcity or want or famine that may befall the land. Good men should never exact profit of that kind.

Rich persons, when they lend money to the needy, must not be very covetous of interest. Interest charged on interest (i.e., compound interest) is sin (p. 58, l. 10) باز به سود دهد
 12. Compound interest from the needy, not permissible. چه گناه باشد سود دیگر
 They must not charge any interest to the poor (dârvish). It seems that, for a merchant, profit upto 25 per cent. (lit. one for every four هر چهار یکی سرمایه) is permissible. Anything above that is sin.

Manual work and industry (khîsh-kâri) are recommended and preferred to commerce (bâzârgâni).
 13. Manual work preferred to commerce. p. 58, l. 19. For every trouble or pain in manual work or industry in this world, one gets double the recompense (دو عوض) in the next world. But in the case of corrupt business (فسادی fesâdi), even if he meets with trouble and loss in this world, he will meet with additional trouble and punishment in the next world. A concrete instance is given. If an honest tradesman, who works himself and prepares silken cloth (qumâsh), is robbed on the road and deprived of his goods, he will be rewarded in the next world with merit, worth four times the value of the stolen goods. Not so, the merchant, who is greedy

(bâ talab). Even if he is robbed here, he will be punished in the next world also for his greediness.

If a father has set apart (نهاده lit. deposited, placed) and named (نام زد کرده) a sum for charity, the children must perform that charity, as ordered. If they do not do so, it is a *margarzân* sin. It is also a *margarzân* sin to spend it in another charity and not to spend it as ordered.

Again, if one has announced publicly (*ashkârâ*) to give in charity to somebody or to a Fire-temple, and then repents of it (*pashimân shavad*), and does not give it, it is improper. If the other person himself refuses the gift and absolves him, it is all right, but, if it is demanded, it must be given. If the gift is not announced publicly, then it may not be given (p. 59, l. 17).

VII

(A) FIRE AND (B) FIRE-TEMPLES (p. 60).¹

(A) FIRES.

When God created the world, three creations, at first, refused to come down to, and settle in, this world. They were 1. Man, Fire, and Cattle refusing to come down to Earth, p. 60, l. 5. Man, Fire and Cattle. They refused to come down because they believed that, after the millenium of Zoroaster, there would prevail much of misery and scepticism in the world. Ardi-behesht Ameshâspand, who presided over Fire, stood up, and said : " I will not send my Fire to the world, because they will not hold Fire in respect after the Millenium of Zoroaster, and will let all impurities come into contact with it. Then Goshurang (گوشورنگ for *Gêush urvan*, l. 14)

¹ Between the preceding subject and this, there runs in the BU Ms. (ff. 154b to 166b) a number of *nurangs* and similar subjects.

made a similar complaint, and said, that *gasfand* (cattle) will be killed unjustly (*bi-dād*) in a large number, and agricultural animals, like bullocks and horses and lambs (جړ) and calves (جړغال), will be killed for food, and thus, sin will increase. Dādār Ohrmazd accepted the truth of what they said about the state of the world after the millenium of Zoroaster, but said: "If I do not send these three to the world, the world will loose all its splendour (*raonak*)."¹ He consoled Man by saying: "Go, and in that time of difficulty, for every good act that you will do, you will have 10 times the reward: I will call you '*mardûm pashâm*'¹ (*i.e.*, men better than those that have lived in the world and will live in the world)² and I will send you to higher Heavens." He then consoled Ardibehesht by saying: "I will give you the sovereignty of Heaven and will not let anybody, who annoys or dishonours Fire, go to Heaven, even if all the other Ameshâspands were to plead in their favour." He consoled Gêush urvan by saying: "Send your cattle to the world, and I will not hold them responsible for any faults they commit. Their faults will lie on the shoulders of those persons who will ill-treat them." Such being the case, it is incumbent upon all men to treat well (*nikû-dashtan*) Fire, otherwise Ardibehesht Ameshâspand will be hostile (*khasm*) to them.

Then, we find the narration of the story (pp. 61-65),

referred to in Avesta³ and Pahlavi
 2. The story of Kersâsp and Fire. books, of a conference between God, Zoroaster, Kersâsp and Ardibehesht

1 *i.e.*, best, another form of *pâhlûm*, *i.e.*, first, cf. "*Pâshûmtar had chûn Kaikhosrô*" in the *Āfrin be nām-i buzôrgân* (*Vide Pâzand Text* by Ervad E. K. Antia, p. 85).

2 As the conversation of Ahura Mazda is with the very first-created man, here, by "you" is meant "your descendants after the Millenium of Zoroaster who will live in difficult times."

3 Yasna IX, 11. *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names, pp. 59-63, for full particulars about Kersâsp.

Ameshâspand. Kersâsp, having once ill-treated Fire, ignited, unwittingly, on the back of a serpent, was condemned to Hell, and was, later on, released by the intercession of Zoroaster.¹

In the section on Fire, we find a number of observances desired to be observed in connection with Fire: Some of them are carried to extremes of niceties. These niceties are carried to such an extreme that some observances seem to be repeated.

1. The sun light should not be allowed to fall direct on Fire (p. 65). This instruction is carefully observed in Fire temples.

2. Fire must be kept away from water (p. 66), because there lives a *darîj* in Fire and a *darûj* in water. When both meet they cause harm (gazand va ziân).

3. Not to touch fire with hand (dast ba âtash na kardan), i.e., whenever you want to feed it, do not do so with your hands, which may be dirty and impure, but do so with a ladle.

4. Do not blow over fire with your mouth. This observance has necessitated the use of *panâm* or *padân* by the officiating priests.²

5. Do not place any impure thing (*palidj* and *nasâ*) over fire. The *Âtash Nyaish*, while speaking of the fuel, says that it must be clean.³

6. Do not place charcoal (فحم) and assafoetida (*angit* for انگستاک *angistak*) over fire.

1 In BU, this story is followed by (a) a similar one in verse (ff. 169b-171b) and by (b) the admonition of Ardibehesht Ameshâspand to Zoroaster to take care of Fire (ff. 171 *et seq.*).

2 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsos," p. 116.

3 *Âtash Nyaish*, 9 *ashaya-beretem*.

7. Do not place moist fuel over it.

8. Of the vessel in which food is cooked over fire, two parts must be filled with water and one part empty (tahi), so that, in case, the water boils, it may not overflow, and fall over the fire and extinguish it. The fuel for the fire in the fire-place must be dry.

9. When fire is collected (bar chinand) from a fire-place to be taken to a fire-temple (âdash-gâh), it must be left at the place for one hour, before doing so, so that by that time the heat of the ground of the fire-place may pass away (gar mi az bâm be ravad). This is either a reference to an old custom when household fires were taken, on special occasions, to the Fire-temple. Or, the reference may be to the practice of collecting various fires for the foundation of a Fire-temple.¹ The injunction, for letting the hot ground to be cooled before the fire was renewed, arises from the injunction that, when a lamp or fire has to be extinguished, that must be done in the presence of another fire.

10. The lamp (cherâg-dân) must be so placed on the lamp-stand (cherâg-pâya), so that whatever (e.g., the burnt portion of the wick) that falls from the wick of the fire (ân che az cherâg be-uftad) may fall upon the lamp-stand and not upon the ground.

11. No fire must be left (rahâ kardan) in a house, wherein there is no man to look after it, so that, one may not receive that punishment which befell Kersâsp of Sam Nariman, who, one day, struck an iron mace (lakhti) upon fire and was condemned to hell until released by Zoroaster.²

¹ Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," p. 212.

² This story of Kersâsp is referred to above, in this section and in the section of Patet, together with the story of Jamshed. Kersâsp's action of striking Fire is referred to in Yaçna IX, 11.

This injunction has led to the custom, observed even now in mofussil Parsee centres, that when people leave their houses for a long time, they carry their household fire to the hearth of a neighbour.

12. Nothing that is dug out (*kandideh*), *i.e.*, the portion of wood which forms the inner root of a tree, should be burnt on fire. This injunction is perhaps the result of the view, that the inner root is generally moist, and wet fuel is to be avoided (*vide* above, observance No. 2).

13. Whenever hard dry fuel is burnt, it must be examined thrice, so that no hair or such dirty things (*palidi*) may have rested on it and may burn with it.

14. Whenever you put a cooking-pot or cauldron (*dīg*) over a fire, after the cooking is done (*kār farmayand*), place some fragrant wood over it and recite an *Ahunavar* and an *Ashem*. This custom is carefully observed by some even now. When they go on a picnic and have to kindle fire for cooking, before leaving the place, they put fragrant sandalwood and incense over the fire that served them.

15. Keep water far away from fire, but only so far as can be handy when required. If all these precautions are observed, *Ardibehesht Ameshaspand* will be pleased (*khushnud*) with you and lead you to heaven; otherwise, he will be hostile (*khasm*) to you.

16. Women in their monthly course should never go near fire.¹

17. The household fire should always be taken care of and kept burning; but if you will feed the fire of your house and kindle it further (*afruzand*) at midnight, that is very meritorious. Such an act extirpates 1000 *divs* and *darujš*. This instruction is generally observed by devoted

1 For the observances to be held by women in menses, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 171-72.

Parsi ladies during two nights of the year—especially, the first of the two nights of the Adargân feast,—the nights of the days Depâdar and Âdar of the month Âdar. These ladies keep the fire of the family hearth burning well during these nights and feed it with sandalwood and frankincense even at night.

18. If one allows the Fire before which *dârîns* (sacred breads) are consecrated and the Yazashna is performed, to be extinguished, then all the efficacy or advantage go in favour of Ahriman and not in that of the worshipper (p. 68, l. 1).

19. It is not proper to cook or roast (be-rizad; barishtan برشت to roast) your food directly over a fire over which a dead body is burnt (p. 68, l. 12), because the dead body, being reduced to ashes, gets mixed with the fire and makes it polluted (riman). You must remove the fire from the burning ground and then cook your food over it. There is nothing wrong if you do so, because fire itself has the quality of purifying all things like itself.

There is one interesting custom of old, referred to in the Rivâyât, which draws our special attention. This custom—the custom of *chinidad*, i.e., picking up or collecting the fires—is referred to on the authority of more than one Rivâyât. It enjoins, that the household fire must, at stated periods, be collected (*chidan*) and removed to the Atash Adarâns, the fire-temples of the second grade, and the fires of the Atash Adarâns to the Atash Behrâms, the Fire-temples of the first-grade. This process—the process of *chidan*—is, further on, referred to also as applied to the collections and consecration of fires of various tradesmen, etc., which, when united, form the fire of Atash Behrâm. It is said that, after using the household fire three times or three days (se ruz, p. 68, l. 2),

it may be removed from the hearth and kept there for one hour, so that the ground of the hearth or fire-place may become cold. Then, after one hour, the household fire, which has served for three times shall be removed to the Fire-temple (ba sar-i Atash Âdaran bâyard bordan) and allowed to be cooled or extinguished there. At the end of every four months and 10 days, the fire of the Atash Adarân shall similarly be collected and taken to the higher sacred fire of the first grade, the Atash Behrâm. If it is not convenient to take thus the fire of the Atash Adarân to the Atash Behrâm every four months, then, at least, once a year it must be so taken.

What seems to be meant is, perhaps, this: You must not exact much work from your household fire. After using it thrice, say for cooking your meals for three days, you must absolve it from the duty of serving you longer. Let it cool itself. But, then comes in another custom. When you extinguish a fire you must extinguish it in the presence of another fire, a kind of higher fire. Upto about 30 or 40 years ago, it was a common practice, and, I think, even now it exists in some mofussil Parsee centres where they burn cocoanut-oil, that at the break of the day, they do not extinguish the lamps where they are burning, but cut off and remove the wicks to the hearth of the household fire. There, they place them near the fire to gradually burn and cool away.

Now this custom seems to have been carried further at times. The household fire was taken to the Fire-temple—and in thickly populated Parsee centres the fire-temples are not very far away—and placed before the fires of the temples to cool down and be extinguished of themselves. Then the process is carried one step further. The fires of the

5. The Custom of extinguishing the Atash Âdaran Fire before the Fire of Atash Behrâm.

Atash Âdarâns are to be taken before the higher grades of the fires of the Atash Behrâms, 'to cool and be extinguished there of themselves. I remember having heard in my younger days that that custom was prevalent, in Bombay, among the Kadmi sect of the Parsis. The fires of the Kadmi Atash Âdarâns were, once a year, on the night of the 4th Gâthâ Gâhambâr day, taken to the Atash Behrâms and allowed to cool there, and fresh new fire was kindled.¹ We have a parallel of this custom in the custom, associated with the Candlemas of the Christians.

In connection with the cooking of our food on fire,

The word *sâkh* referred to above, the word used with (સાખ), used in bread (*nân*) is *gosht* (گوشت p. 68, ll. 4 and 12), i.e., meat. The Gujarati Rivâyat, in connection with the cooking of flesh on fire, uses the word 'sâkh' (સાખ, p. 143).


Parsees, even now, use the word સાખ for meat. Hindus also use the word 'sâkh' (સાખ), but they use it in the sense of vegetable. I think that this difference in meaning is due to the fact, that the word comes from Persian *shâk* (شاک) which means both (1) a shoot, a twig and (2) a he-goat. So, the Parsees use the same word in one sense, and the Hindus in another.

We find, on the authority of the 8th chapter of the Vendidad, an account of the removal of the fire that burns a corpse to another proper place (*dâd-gah*). It is a meritorious act to purify such a fire and remove it to a better place and for a better purpose.

The meritoriousness of picking up (*chin-dan*) the fire from a burning corpse and carrying it with

1 Vide (a) *Adar Khoreh* (આદર ખોરેહ), by Rustam bin Mulla Kekobad, published in 1216 A.Y. (i.e., 1847 A.C.), pp. 11-17; (b) પાવ મેહેલને લગતી કિસ્સાઓ (કદીમ તરીકત પ્રમાણે), by Mobad Mehrvanji Khurshedji Bahram Kamdin Dasturna (1931), p. 88; (c) ઇઠોતર રેવાયત (Ithoter Revayat).

due formality to a fire-temple is equal to that of picking up other 10000 fires. On the other hand, if one sees a corpse being burnt and neglects to remove the fire which burns the corpse, he commits a sin equal to that of extinguishing 10000 fires. The person, who sees such a fire, must, while removing the fire, observe some formalities; otherwise, he himself would be *rīman* (polluted) for touching a fire that has become *rīman* by burning a corpse. The observances are these: He may hold or associate (براز)¹ some combustible substance (chips of wood or saw dust, as modern practice is with some) with paivand (پایوند) over the corpse-burning fire, until the fire itself extinguishes, and then place the substance, thus ignited, at the distance of, at least, a span of nine inches (vajab) from the fire. Then, he may similarly ignite from this first fire, another second fire and place it at the distance of two hands (dast) from the first. Then, similarly, a third fire should be ignited from the second, and so on, for nine times. The combustible substance is to be removed from the fire over which it is held, only when the preceding fire cools and is extinguished. In present practice, as observed in the ceremony of preparing the sacred fire of the Fire-temples, the combustible substance is placed in a perforated ladle, and then held over the fire, so that it may soon be ignited; or a piece of wood may be held over the fire till it ignites. The first preliminary process must be begun only when the whole of the corpse is consumed, not when there is a single particle of the body unburnt. It is the 9th fire so prepared that is to be carried to the Fire-temple (Âtash-gâh, Dâd-gâh).²

1 P. barâz. The word is found as barâz and barâh (براه). It is Pahlavi  barah, lustre. Pahlavi Vend. XVI, 2 (Eng. bright).

2 For the ceremony in details, *vide* my paper on "Consecration Ceremonies" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XI, pp. 496 *et seq.* *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 210-242).

Other fires may similarly be treated. The meritoriousness of removing them from their comparatively lower places or grades of work (lower than that of the sacred Atash Dâd-gah) is proportionate to their grade.

The meritoriousness in the case of a fire that does the most abominable work is the greatest. Thus, that for removing or saving the corpse-burning fire is equal to that of removing 10000 other ordinary fires. (In another place it is given as 1000). That of removing the fire that burns ordinary *nasâ* is 500 and so on, lower down.

The Grade of Meritoriousness is as follows :

Kinds of Fire.	Meritoriousness.
1. Corpse-burning Fire ...10000 (or 1000 on another authority) times that of removing an ordinary fire to a Dâd-gâh (p. 69, l. 17).	
2. Fire that burns <i>nasâ</i> (<i>haêr nasâ</i>) ..	500
3. Fire of jar-makers (kham-puzesh, i.e., burning jars) . .	400
3A. Fire of the furnaces (kureh) of brick-burners (tâveh-puz).	300
4. „ „ of a goldsmith (zar-gar, p. 70, l. 2) ...	100
5. „ „ of a leadsmith (arzizgar) ...	90
6. „ „ of an ironsmith (âhangar) or steel-smith (pulâdgar) or of another class of smith (suriligâr suri, red copperas) ...	70

Kinds of Fire.	Meritoriousness.
7. Fire of a baker working on an oven (<i>tanûr</i>)	60
8. „ burning in a desert or on a mountain	50
9. „ a bleacher (<i>kâzar</i> or <i>gâzar</i> , a fuller).	40
10. „ a muleteer (<i>khar-band</i>) ...	30
11. „ a forester (<i>bisheh-kâr</i> , p. 70, l. 2) ...	20
12. „ of your own house ...	10

The value, if estimated in money, for the removal of one ordinary fire, is one *farman* (فرمان) which is worth 8 *astir*, which are worth 32 *dirams*.¹

As to the last mentioned fire, the fire of one's own house, it must be removed, as said above, every three days to a temple. If that is not convenient, it must be removed at least once a year. If one does not do so, for every meal that he prepares on it, he incurs a sin worth one *farmân*. In this connection, the following advice is given: "Do not do any work which you do not know properly. Even if it turns out to be meritorious, it is a sin" (p. 70, l. 18).

زراتشت برگو تو با مردمان که چیزی ندانسته نکنند همان
اگر کرفه باشد کناهش بدان نداند کند کار را همچنان
هر آنچه بداند همو بک جهد بود زو دوان کار زود تر کند

The object of the advice is, that one must not dilate upon what he himself does not know well. As an illustration, the name of Noshirwan Marzban is mentioned, who was the writer of this. He wrote what he knew. As he did not know all the comments and explanations (*zend*), he wrote only what little he knew.

1 The Gujarati Rivâyat says that each *astir* equals 4 *tanks*, So a *farmân* is worth a *tânk* (تَنک). According to Steingass, an *astir* "is a weight of 6½ dirhems."

There is a question and implied answer which are not

8. •The burning of Fire for three days after death near the Dakhmā. The Sagri

clearly intelligible. It is given on the authority of the Rivāyat of Kāus Māhyār. It says (p. 71, l. 11): They kindle a fire in (*i.e.*, at) the Tower (dakhmā). It burns for 3 days and nights. On the 4th day

they may bring an iron seat or throne (sandal صندل).¹ They must bring it always separate (مستقل), *i.e.*, not in contact with anything, and burn it before fire, which may be extinguished in the dome of the Dakhmā and then they may take it to the house of the dead (خانه مرگ مند). Both may be extinguished and other fires ignited from these fires and may be taken to the fire of Ādarān.



The words "fire in a Dakhmā" may perplex one, but,

9. Reference to the custom of modern *sagri*s.

I think, by Dakhmā here, one must not take an enclosed *dakhmā* as we have here, but an enclosed open place as

the Persian Zoroastrians had upto a few years ago.² It seems that the question is about the custom of keeping fire burning near the Tower of Silence. The custom in Iran seems to be this: When death occurred the body was first taken to the 'zād-marg', *i.e.*, a house provided in the Zoroastrian quarters where the people took the dead bodies before its disposal for funeral ceremonies. Then, after the ceremonies there, the body was taken for exposure to the Dakhmā, which in Iran was not like a Tower as here,

1 Our text gives the word as سندل sadal. Both the old Mss. BU and MU also give the same mis-spelt word. But there is no Arabic or Persian word as sadal. So it seems to be *sandal*. According to Steingass (Dictionary, p. 793), Ibn Batuteh derives the meaning from sandal, *i.e.*, sandalwood, because the stools or chairs or stands were made from sandalwood.

2 Vide Dastur Khodāyār Sheheryār's article, in the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zartoshti Madressa Jubilee Volume, on the Funeral Ceremony in Persia.

but an extensive open space enclosed by a wall. There, fire was kept burning for three days and nights. It is this fire that is referred to here, and it is said that, on the fourth day, an iron fire vase (sandal) may be brought there and a fire kindled on it from the fire that was burning there for the last three days. This latter may be allowed to be extinguished in the dome of the Dakhma (کنبد دخی), i.e., in a structure which we now call a Sagdi.¹ The fire so kindled from the dying fire, i.e., the fire allowed to be cool (sard), may be brought to the town, and, together with the fire, that was kindled in the zâd-marg when the body was first taken there before being carried to the Dakhma and that is kept burning for three days and nights, may be allowed to cool. But, before these fires are allowed to be extinguished, fresh fires may be prepared from them and taken to the Âtash dâd-gâh or the Fire-temple of the street or town and allowed to be extinguished there.

Our modern Sagris of large Parsee centres, like Bombay, Surat, Naosari, etc., where the fires are always kept burning, have their origin in this custom. In such big centres, deaths take place almost daily or every alternate or third day; so, the fire there is always kept burning. In some of the smaller mofussil Parsee centres, instead of a fire, which costs much to be kept burning, they burn a lamp, day and night. In some still smaller centres, they burn lamps only at night, the light of the sun being taken as a good substitute during the day. In Bombay and some other centres, though a fire is burning day and night in the Sagri, a lamp also is kept burning at night. The Sagri and the

1 Upto about 40 years ago, the Sagri at the Bombay Towers of Silence was of the form of a lowly dome, wherein the man in charge of the fire could only enter by stooping down. One will still see such old Sagris in mofussil Parsee centres like Naosari, Dehvier, etc.

niche or place for the lamp are so provided that a ray from the fire or the lamp always falls on the towers, which also are provided with holes to admit those rays. This view, viz., that this small section of the Rivāyat refers to our modern custom of Sagri, is supported by the fact that, in the BU Ms., somebody has, later on, written in Gujarati, over the top of the page which treats of this subject, that, “શ્રી દેરી તથા સગડીના આતશની વીગત છે,” i.e., (Herein) there is an account of the fire of *dôri* and sagri.

As to the word *dôri*, I think it is the Persian *daur*, i.e., revolution, limited time. The fire of *dôri* is the fire that is kept in the *zâd-marg* where, round the corpse, a kasha, i.e., a circle is drawn. Or, perhaps, the word *દેરી* *dôri* is the Gujarati word *dôri*, i.e., string, because it was customary to enclose with a string, turned round some nails, the place in the house, where the body is placed before being taken to the Towers. In some mofussil Parsee centres, where the ground of the ground floor is not made *paccâ* with chunam, etc., the practice is still prevalent (cf. the custom of *kata* referred to in the Vendidad).

In connection with the ritual of the dead, it is said that fires are burning at three places

12. Fire at three places, protecting the soul of the Dead. (1) One's house, where life has departed. (2) The *zâd-marg* where the body is taken after death for the funeral ceremonies. It is this fire that is spoken of as the fire of *dauri*. (3) The fire at the Dakhmâ. The last named fire must be 300 steps away from the Dakhmâ proper. These fires protect the soul from the Vazarash Div who tries to frighten the soul for the three days and nights that it is in this world (p. 71, l. 15).

. There are six kinds of Fire:

13. Six kinds of fires. p. 72, l. 1. 1. Berezisawangha which burns before God,

2. Vohu friâna which is in animals, i.e., animal heat.

3. Urvâzishta, the fire or heat in the vegetable creation.

4. Vâzishta, the electrical fire or lightning, which assists the fall of rain.

5. Spenisht, the household fire, which exists in stone also. This is possibly a reference to the primitive production of fire by friction, referred to by Firdousi. The first discovery of fire by friction led to the foundation of the Jashan-i-Sadeh.

6. Neryosang, the royal fire, the special fire connected with the kings.

(B) FIRE-TEMPLES.

The Dasturs of Persia had learnt from the messenger, Kâus Mahyâr, that there was only one Âtash Behrâm in India and that was at Naosari. So, they find fault with such a state of affairs and advise, that there should be several. Again, there must be Âtash Âdarâns in all Zoroastrian streets, so that people may easily carry there, their household fires every third day, as referred to above, or, if that is not possible, on any day after that upto the 7th day (p. 72, l. 18).

It seems that, there was the custom of saying 9 Atash Nyaeshes over the sacred fire of the Atash Âdarân. So, there is a question that, if, instead of one Mobad, saying the nine nyaeshes, can three together recite three nyaeshes each, so that the ceremony may soon be finished. The reply is not found in this Rivâyat (p. 73, l. 1). The present practice is of saying one nyaish, over the Fire of Atash Âdarân and nine over that of Âtash Behrâm.

There should be no further cooking over a fire over

3. The Household fire to be taken to Adarân after Food is cooked over it for 3 days.

which bread is cooked (fakht)¹ (p. 72, l. 14) for 3 days. No more viands (âsh) should be cooked over it but it must be taken to a Fire-temple. The priest who serves the fire (âdash-bandeh) of the Adaran, must, in his turn, take every year, in the Farwardin month, his Fire before the Atash Behram and take offerings (dâshan)² (p. 82, l. 17). If it is not possible to do so every year, it must be done every three years. We thus see that the Fire-temples were useful, not only for prayers, but for offering to them lower grades of fire.

4. Necessary observances in connection with Fire-temples.

The following observances are necessary in connection with Fire-temples:

1. Wherever there are 10 houses of Zoroastrians, there must be a fire-temple.

2. When the household fires are allowed to be cooled in the temples, the carriers must recite 21 Yathâ Ahû Vairyôš.

3. A Behdin³ with Bareshnum should be the worshipper (farastâr for parastâr) in attendance upon the sacred fire.

4. The âdust (آدوست), i.e., the platform for the fire vase, must be of stone.

5. When they instal an ordinary fire (perhaps an Âdash-dâdgah is meant) then, there must be 3 priests, and the fire must be placed, one after another, at 3 places, each

1 This seems to be a corrupted form of 'pukht,' which in BU is written as 'bukht'.

2 Another form of *dahashna*. Steingass says that dashan is "a largess in money or clothing distributed among the poor by the ancient kings of Persia on certain days of public rejoicing."

3 Here, it is not used in the sense of a layman, but in that of an officiating Zoroastrian (priest).

distant from the other by a *vajah* (span) or a hand (*dast*). The household fire may be taken and fragrance placed upon it; and, from it, another fire may be ignited from its *barâh*, i.e., not by direct contact but by its heat from a distance. The fire so ignited may be placed on a clean place and another fire similarly ignited from it. This process to be repeated three times. At the fourth time it may be placed in the Fire vase on the *âdusht* and then the Dastur shall recite an *Âtash nyâish*.

6. Behedins shall try to instal an *Âtash Behram*, and, failing that, an *Âtash Âdarân* (p. 83, l. 14).

It appears from an extract of the Rivâyat of Nariman Hoshang (p. 74 first line), that, when the Dasturs of Persia were asked by Nariman, as to how an *Atash Behrâm* may be founded, since all the work-places or manufactories (*karkhâneh*) were owned by Jud-dins or aliens, they (the Dasturs) said, in reply, that that may be learnt from the writings (*navishteh-i-pârsi*)¹ by Indian Dasturs and Herbadis. If they (Indian Parsees) have not those original writings, they may send two wise capable (مستعبد) men to Persia (to copy these).

7. The Fire of Lightning alone may not serve as the fire for an *Atash Behrâm*. So, one can only say *Atash Âdar Nyaish* before it and not the *Atash Behrâm Nyaish* (p. 74, l. 5. آتش آذر نایش کردن میباید). What seems to be meant is that, the Fire of Electric Lightning may perhaps serve the purpose of the sacred fire of an *Atash Âdaran*, but not that of an *Atash Behrâm*.

To found (*nashistan*) an *Atash Behrâm*, one must have

5. The 16 Fires
for an *Atash Beh-*
am. p. 74, l. 8.

1001 collections (*chinashna*, lit. selections or pickings) of fires. They may be taken to an *Âdar* (i.e., *Atash Âdarân*) and to an *Atash Behrâm*. It is a *margarzan sin*,

1 It is the Pâzend writings that seem to be meant.

if they extinguish (be-huzand بهوزند¹) an Atash Behram. The following is the list of the fires which are believed to make up the Fire of Atash Behram and the number of times they are to be ignited one from another.

Names of Fires	Number of times they are to be ignited one from another.
1. Atash-i-nasa pukhtan or Atash-i-murdeh-soz, <i>i.e.</i> , the fire on which a corpse burns...	91
2. Fire of the person who burns hadr ² (هادر) on it, <i>i.e.</i> , burns the colour of lac (لاک لاک) or sealing wax	80
3. Fire on which they burn (sargin-i-hadr-omand or hairmand), <i>i.e.</i> , filthy excrement of a Public bath (hamam)	70
4. Fire of one who burns doshin ³ (دوشین) over it, <i>i.e.</i> , a potter (kuzeh-gar)	60
5. Goldsmith	60
6. Silversmith	55
7. Zihargar ⁴ or darudgar, <i>i.e.</i> , carpenter ...	50

1 Hukhtan=to draw out, to unsheathe. I think that the Parsee Gujarati word *bujauvan* (બુજાવું) for extinguishing, comes from this 'ba-hukhtan'.

2 I think this is miswritten for هادر (هادر) in *hair va nasa*. But, if you take the word as it is, it may be Arabic *hadr*, bloodshed with impunity.

3 Perhaps P. doshina, shoulder-load (Steingass)? The *kuzeh* (کوزه) ajar or vase has the form of something standing on a neck or shoulder.

4 I am not sure what this word is. Steingass does not give it. Perhaps we may explain it as maker or moulder (ساز) of everything (زمین ze har), because a carpenter prepares everything out of wood.

Names of Fires	Number of times they are to be ignited one from another.
8. That of a brick-layer (آنکه او هر خشت یخته) <i>lit.</i> he who bakes every kind of brick) ... 75	
9. That of the oven on which there is a cauldron for cooking, <i>i.e.</i> , a baker (<i>nân</i> <i>pûkht</i>) 61	
10. The fire of a cauldron (<i>dîg</i>). This is perhaps the fire of a person who sells cooked food ¹ . 6	
11. Muleteers, villagers or cultivators (غربندگان (² دهیکان) 61	
12. The fire of <i>Mazdayasnân</i> 40	
13. Horsemen and watchmen (<i>savârân va</i> <i>dûrdagan</i>) ³ 35	
14. کاو ⁴ بهوار هزار یعنی یاسبان (?) The man with work of 10,000 kinds, <i>i.e.</i> , a shepherd or a watchman, probably the latter ... 30	
15. Both our lithographed text and its original MU and in the BU Mss., the next fire is again numbered as 14th (چهاردهم) and	

1 This 10th is omitted by our text because the original Ms. MU also omits it by mistake. BU gives it (Vol. I, f. 176a, l. 6) as
دهم از دیگ شست و یکی.

2 For دهکان.

3 در دشب *durd*, last watch of the night; or, if we read the word with the preceding *vav*, the word may be taken as 'vadardagan' (*guzardagan*), *i.e.*, passers by.

4 The word *bahvar* seems to be *bivar* (Av. *baevar*), *i.e.*, 10000 *Pâsbân* means a watchman in general, and a watchman of the cattle, *i.e.*, shepherd, in special. I think here a watchman is meant, who has ten thousand, *i.e.*, multifarious duties to perform.

Names of Fires

Number of times
they are to be
ignited one from
another.

the final word, expressing what the class is, is 'pâsbân' (پاسبان). This makes it difficult to determine what the word pâsbân is meant for. The second description of the 14th fire—let us call it 14b—runs thus: چهار دهم از برق آسمان نودعانه پاسبان. Here, the first four words are clear as meaning "The 14th (Fire) is that of the Lightning of the Heavens". The next word نودعانه is unintelligible. I think it is miswritten for نودانه meaning "the 90th, that is to say". Then the meaning would be the Fire of the Lightning which falls from the 90th—(perhaps miswritten for nehûm, the 9th, because nine heavens are often spoken of)—Heaven. Then, the last word pâsbân as in 14a requires to be explained. We know that the planet Saturn is spoken of as پاسبان طارم نهم, i.e., the sentinel of the 9th Arch of Heaven. Anyhow, the first words are clear and they refer to the Fire as the Fire of Lightning. This Fire of Lightning is referred to in a previous list of fires. So, here also it seems to be a separate fire and the words 'chehar dehûm,' i.e., 14th, is a mistake of the copyist for "the 15th". Similarly, this mistake has led the writer to speak erroneously of the next 16th fire as the 15th. Here the list ends with the 15th fire. But, we know, that in practice 16 kinds of fire are spoken of as those required

Names of Fires

Number of times
they are to be
ignited one from
another.

for an Atash Behram under all the circumstances. So, we number this Fire of Lightning as the 15th and the next fire as the 16th. Again, though the number 14th is repeated, the figure at the end, as to how many times the fire must be ignited, is not given.

16. The Fire of a Herbad or priest ... 40

The above list of Fires differs from that given previously.

What follows is not clear (p. 74, l. 14). I give the text of the early part from the original MU as the copyist lithographer has made several mistakes:

6. How an
Atash Behram
may be founded.
p. 84.

به‌دین اندرون^۱ چوب و سنگی صد و چهار

و سه يك تا آتش بجیدن بآن دنیا بی وهرام بیادشاه نشستن که
به‌رزی^۲ استوان^۳ هر کاهنبار زور^۴ پس از بکوسفند بتوان^۵ دادن روشن
پا و روز په^۶ اسم^۷ و بوی دادن توان داشتن ان تنش^۷ اندهشت چند
مردی میانه در او نشیند که این افروختن تن آتش ریمنی پاک
کردن آتش بجیدن مردی میانه آواید نه کوودال کند از کوودال

I think the whole subject is written very laconically with infinitives and not with regular verbs. The subject

1 I have corrected this, as the original often writes *p* پ for *b* ب

2 BU برهزی

3 BU has استوبالی

4 BU زوری

5 بتوان

6 BU از پی

7 BU omits all the words upto کوودال which seems to be wrong:

refers to the installation of a Fire-temple after collecting (*chidan*) various fires. What is said is this:

1. Behedins should collect 143 loads of the wood of *vasang*¹ وسنگ, for the fires that are to be collected. The merit of this work is equal to that of installing a Fire-temple in the next world.
2. If the Gahambars occur during the long period when the various fires are being collected and consecrated, then the *zor* (زور from Av. *zaothra*) ceremony be celebrated² over the fire.
3. Then the next ceremony is spoken of as "*az ba gosfand ba tavân dâdan*", i.e., give to the fire (something) from a *guspad* (i.e., a sheep or a ram or a goat), if possible (*ba tavân*). This something is, as the practice was upto late, *charb*, i.e., fat of the goat. They say that, upto about 50 or 60 years ago, there was a practice, that, on

1 *Vasang* is "the name of a plant or herb growing in rocky places and fragrant as a lemon" (Steingass).

2 The word پهرزی of our text and of the original MU (f. 65b, l. 10) seems to have been miswritten for پرهیزی (پرهیزی) which we find in BU (f. 176a, l. 9). *Parhizidan* means "to take care of, to abstain." In Parsee religious phraseology, it has come to mean "to take care of religiously by ritual," i.e., to clean, purify, or consecrate for the time being. For example, we speak of the *parhizidan* of a *Dakhma* (دَکْهْمَا پَره‌زیدن). When a person dies, the relations wish that the particular place or *pâvi* at the Tower, in which the body is to be exposed, may be cleaned beforehand and cleared of the remains, if any, of a body previously exposed. This is said to be the "*parhizidan* of the *Dakhmâ*." The *parhizidan* is spoken of in our text to be *ustawân* (استوان) which word is *astobân* (استوبان) in BU. I think the word is Pers. استوان which mean "firm or strong," and is another form of Pers. استوار (استوار) which means "firm, strong, true, perfect". What seems to have been meant is, that, on the occasion of the intervening Gahambars, the *parhizidan* of the fire must be well done.

the dawn of the fourth day after the death of a person, some persons got a goat killed and then offered its fat to the Fire of an Atash Behram. In the sentence: "Dāityo pithvi būyāo", *i.e.*, "may you be worthy of food" in the Âtash Nyâish, the word 'pithvi' is taken by some to mean "fat".¹

4. Asim va bui, *i.e.*, fragrant wood and frankincense may be placed over the fire as *pâdrîz*.
5. Then to place the fire and unite it (with others) (*ân nishastan ân dehsht*). I am doubtful of what is meant. Perhaps *dehst* (دهشت) is *daheshat* (دهشت, *i.e.*, union, unanimity); and this refers to the collection of several fires into one, which forms a part of the ritual of founding an Atash Behrâm at present. Perhaps, the word is a corruption of *adusht* referred to above.²
6. Then several persons may sit before the fire (*chand mardî miânah dar u nashinad*) and kindle it (*afrukhtan*) and clean the body of the fire from its pollution (*tan-i âtash riman pâk kardan*).
7. Then a man must dig 9 pits or ditches (کودال *kodâl*)³. The pits must be exactly at the distance of one *vidash*⁴ from another. A distance more or less will not do. The measurement of the *vidast* must be with the hand of a man of the exact age of 30. One aged, more or less, will not do (*bish va kam nâ avâyard*). Each of the fires must be put separately in a separate pit.

1 About 100 years ago, there arose a great controversy on the question of this custom of placing the fat of an animal upon fire. *Vide my History of the Parsi Punchayet*, Vol. I, p. 130.

2 *Vide above* p. 163.

3 Our text, following MU, has ک و دال which is miswritten for ک و دال as given in BU (f. 176, l. 11). A little further on, the word is made clear by adding the word *môgh* (مَوْغ Av. *maēga*, a pit).

4 Av. *vidast*.

8. It is an 'yuzdāthar' (a priest qualified to perform the inner liturgical services), who is to take part in the installation of an Atash Behram.
9. The first important thing (ma'ni مانی)¹ is that an Yashti (i.e., an Yazashna) may be recited over the fire for 30 days from roz Ormaz to Aniran.
10. In the dome (gumbad) which is the house (مان)² or the place for the Yasht (Yazashna), the dress (jamê) of the priest and the implements (avzâr) must be in good order.
11. Then, at first, every body must take fuel for the brightness (نیر naiyar), and increase (mad) of the fire, and yazashnas over the fire may be said for 30 days. The fires must be collected separately so that all can be placed in separate arched niches (tâq)³, till the process is finished in the case of all the nine pits. On every fire, the *yazashnas* must be recited separately, till 15 in all are recited. Then all the fires may be combined together, and each of such collections or united fires shall be placed on a separate fire-vase (âdusht) and Yasht (yazashna) recited over it. Then they shall be in one place.
12. These 15 (fires) may be taken from the houses of the

1 I take the word as given by BU. Our text, following MU, gives māni (مانی), i.e., a house. One may take the word to be correct and say that the ritual connected with this word, viz., of performing the Yazashna for 30 days, refers to the consecration of the building of the temple, though in practice it is not so. The house or temple itself is not consecrated with the recital of the Yazashna for 30 days.

2 Our text, following MU, gives 'mian' (میان), which, I think, is wrong. BU gives mân (مان).

3 تاق Arabic طاق. All fire temples, even now, have arched niches spoken of as *taks*, wherein the priests place their requisite articles.

Behdins of Iran and an *yazashna* be recited on each of them.

13. They shall be collected in three separate *adushts*, and then, during the 5 days great or good (*vohu panj*) of the Farwardegân, an *yazashna* may be recited every day in honour of the pious (*ashoân*, i.e., the *yazashna* of *Ardâfarosh*). On the 9th day (چهارشنبه: *ba neh shav*, lit. on the 9th night), a *Vendidad* may be recited in honour of *Sarosh*.
14. During the *Gâhambar*, a recital may be made with (the offering of) a *gospand*, and a *Visparad* and *Yazashna* in honour of *Ormazd* and *Sarosh* may be recited. All this is to be observed till the last fire is collected.
15. They shall carry a *jumeh* (جمعه)¹ before the fire so that they may not see the fire. *Khartem myazdem*² shall be recited.

This is a very brief description of the ceremony for installing an *Atash Behrâm* Fire; and so, it is not clear. I have described the ceremony, at some length, in my paper on "Consecration Ceremonies"³ on the authority of the *Vendidad* and the present practice.

It is said on the authority of the *Épistle* of *Kaus Mahyar*, that *Dasturs* of Persia wished that besides the one *Atash Behrâm* at *Naosari*, there should also be *Atash Behrâms* at other *Parsee* centres (p. 72, l. 9). Here, also (p. 75, l. 11) it is again said, on the authority

7. References to the *Atash Behrâm* at *Naosari*. Charbi on the Sacred Fire.

1 I do not understand what the word is. It seems to be intended for a curtain. Perhaps the word is miswritten for *jameh* (جامه).

2 For *Ashaya dathâmi kharethem myazdem* (Name of *Yasna* Ha VII).

3 *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, pp. 498-520. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis", Chap. IX, pp. 210-242.

of Rustom Marzban, that all endeavours be made to have Atash Behrâms in Zoroastrian centres. The one at Naosari (p. 75, l. 11) will not serve the purpose of other centres, since it is necessary that on the 4th day after death fat (charbi) of goat (gusfand) should be placed on the fire of Atash Behrâm. It is wrong that those who died in Broach and Khambayât (Cambay) and Surat, had no advantage of an Atash Behrâm. The Epistle of Kaus Mahyar is referred to again (p. 76, l. 2) and the Dasturs of Iran, referring to the Atash Behrâm of Naosari, again say that there should be such Atash Behrâms at other centres also.

8. Fourteen further observances about the Atash Behrâm. p. 76.

Proceeding further, we find mention of other following observances in connection with the Atash Behrâm:

1. A *gusfand (a sheep or goat), either male or female, may be offered to the Atash Behrâm as zor (zaothra). If the animal is female, it must not be one with child (âbistân). The animal must be one without any defect (عب). A kid under one year also cannot do.
2. The Fire of an Atash Behrâm shall never be divided into two parts (ba do bakhsh). If one does so, it is a margarzân sin (p. 76, l. 8). What the writer means to say is that if one proposes to found another Atash Behrâm, that cannot be directly founded by taking a part of the consecrated fire of another previous Atash Behrâm. There must be altogether a separate collection and consecration. In old history, we have the instance of the Sacred Fire of the Atash Behrâm of Karian in Pars being divided in three parts to provide against its being extinguished by an invading host.¹

1 Vide my Gujarati paper on the History of the Sacred Fire of Azar Gushasp (My Iranian Essays ૨૨૧-૨૩૧ ભાગ ૧. ૫૧. ૧૪૭. Maço di par Barbier de Meynard, IV, p. 76, chap. 69.

3. The Fire of the Atash Behrâm shall not be seen by everybody and anybody. The priests (Dasturs and Mobads) who have become *naozûd* (*nâvar*) only can see it, going before it with a *panâm* (*padân*) over their face. The above prohibition is spoken of as a rule of religion (قاعدة دين p. 76, l. 11).

4. The sacred fire of the Atash Behrâm should be well cared for especially at midnight. A conversation between Ormazd and Zoroaster is here given (p. 76, l. 13). Zoroaster asks: "What is better? Whether one should install a Sacred Fire in his own house and feed it (*bûha dehand*) or install it in Atash gâh (Fire temple)?" Ormazd replies, that it should be in an Atash-gâh, and that Atash-gâh may be an Atash Behrâm, because the Fire-temples keep away, like guards (*pâsbân*), all dangers from the place. If the sacred fire there is fed at midnight, it keeps away 99,999 *divs* and *darujš*. When the fire of an Atash Behrâm is allowed to be extinguished, whether knowingly or unknowingly, by some one, all his meritorious acts, even if they be 100,000, become nil. There are two very estimable things in the world: 1. A Righteous man and 2. An Atash Behrâm.

The same subject is treated on the authority of the *Sad-dar Nasr* (p. 77, l. 4). The existence of an Atash Behrâm and the act of its being properly fed lead to the safety of travellers. If you serve and feed well with fragrant wood the sacred fire of an Atash Behrâm, all the fires in the world are thereby pleased (*khushnud*) and they give you bread and money (نق, lit. expense).

Then a reference is made to the discussions between the *Gajashsta Abalish* and Mobad named *Adarfara Farrokh*.¹

1 Between this portion and the next of *Nasa*, BU gives some other matters (ff. 177a-181b), including *Atash Nyâish*.

VIII

NASÂ.

Nasâ is the dead or decomposing substances of men.

It is the spirit of the teachings of Zoroastrianism, that Fire, Water, Air and

Introduction. Earth, the four so-called elements of the ancients, should be kept pure and free from the contamination of dead or decomposing matter. The subject of *Nasâ* forms a larger part of the Zoroastrian religious literature, and is referred to, here and there, in connection with various subjects. For example, we saw above, that in the consideration of the subject of Patet or Atonement, it was partly touched upon at the end. We saw, under the heading or chapter of Fire, that the question of keeping away *Nasâ* from Fire was largely treated there. Now, here again (p. 78, l. 4 *et seq.*) the subject of keeping away *Nasâ* from water and ground is chiefly dwelt upon. The question of keeping it away from ground leads to the question of Dakhmas and the method of the disposal of the dead. Of course, the *Nasâ* must be disposed off in one way or another. So, the spirit of the ancient teaching is, that that must be done in the least offensive way, *i.e.*, in the way that would least injure the health of men. At times, the injunctions of the Rivâyat seem to move away much from the spirit and to stick to the letter.

We find that in the consideration of this subject the *nasâ* is divided into two classes: (1) the *Nasâ* of the dead (*murdegân*) and (2) the *Nasâ* of the living (*zindegân*). Hair, nails, dead flesh, teeth are of latter class, *i.e.*, the *Nasâ* of the living. These also must be kept away as much as possible. We, at times, read of *hehr va nasâ* (مهرونسا). Here, *hehr* is generally the *Nasâ* of the second kind, *i.e.*, the *Nasâ* of the living, like hair, nails, etc.

In the Patet of Adarbâd Marespand, there is one particular section which refers to the sin of letting the *hehr* and *nasû* come into contact with water and fire. In this connection, water is generally first referred to. It is this regard and scrupulous care of the ancient Persians to keep away impurities from water, that is referred to by Herodotus and classical writers with some kind of approbation. It is this same scrupulousness, that made Goethe approve of what he calls the Purity of the Elements and the Dignity of the Elements among the ancient Persians, though he did not like the too many niceties of the different kinds of customary purification. With these few words of general application, we will come to the subject of *Nasû* and its contact with water as treated in this Rivâyat.

Nasû must be kept away from water and fire because the non-observance of proper care leads to the spread of *sinn*¹ (سن) and locusts (ملخ) and to severe winters and summers. Then follow these couplets (p. 78, l. 6), wherein the words *nâtash* and *masush* are not intelligible:

پیرهزید نسا ار آب و آتش :: روان خود مکن برجای تانش
چو پرهیزی بمینویا ببرات خوش :: بدان کوش تا نباشی تو مسوش

Perhaps here the word *natash* and *masush* are words coined by the writers as negatives of *âtash* and *sus* (not

1 I am not sure what *sinn* is. It seems to be a kind of insect like locusts. According to Steingass, it means "a wild bull", but this meaning is doubtful. The Gujarati Rivâyat (p. 138) gives in one place મહર એ જીડ, i.e., mosquito and locust, and in another place mosquito and *chimdi* (મહર એ ચિમ્ડી). *Chimdi* seems to be an insect like a flea. If we read the word as *sann*, it means something "smelling badly" (Steingass).

ush) meaning "injured by worms". In that case, the negatives would mean "fire-less", i.e., cold, dull and "مسوش" injured by insects."

The same subject of not throwing *nasâ* in fire or water is treated again in verse from the Rivâyat of Bahman Punjiyeh and on the authority of the Vendidad. If one throws a *Nasâ* in fire and water and conceals this from others, he shall be flayed alive and be thrown to dogs and birds for being devoured.

The subject of *Nasâ* or dead bodies being brought in contact with fire and waters, suggests the thought of living men that are at times burnt in fire and drowned in water. How can fire and water, which are held as good and worthy of being well taken care, kill men? No, they do not kill men. It is Shaitan (Satan) who kills them. He has created a Div named Astavâd, which is called *Nâe-i badtar*. It is this Div who binds the thoughts (*manash*) of men and throws them in water and fire. It is not water and fire that kill. God said: "Whatever is created by me does no injury to man." They only serve as an excuse or cause (l. 5 *دانه*).

The same subject is treated in reference to the discussion between Gajasta Abâlîsh and a Mobad (p. 80, l. 1). Abâlîsh first asked: "Who created Water and Fire." Mobad replied "God". Then he put the riddle that these things created by God kill men. Mâmun Amiral Moumanin (مامون امير المؤمنين *ibid.* l. 4), in whose court the conference of discussion was held, is represented as being pleased with the reply of the Mobad (*an sakhun pasandit va khub danest*, p. 80, l. 4).

This subject is based on a similar statement in the Vendidad (Chap. V, s. 8). For a similar belief in North

Behar, *vide* my paper entitled, "The Belief about the Dubbah or the Drowning Spirit in India. Its parallel in Ancient Iran" (Journ. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, pp. 750-754. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, pp. 146-50).

Just as the fact of fire and water killing a person is defended in one way or another, the fact of water falling from the Heavens over the *nasâ* in the Tower of Silence is defended in the verses taken from the Rivâyat of Bahman Punjiyeh. Zoroaster says to God: "You pour water on the *dakhma* and you pour it at the time with impurity (*hahr*).... O God you pour it with your own hand.....and you tell to mankind: 'Do not pour water over that place (*dakhma*). It is a sin.' " God replied "I pour water over the *Dakhma*, so that it may become clean (*pâk*).....and that the impurities (*rimani*) in it may be less (*subaktar*). With that idea of purification, I created the seas for the world, so that they may spread pleasure all round. If I were not to shower rain on the *Dakhma*, people cannot live in cities or anywhere in the world. People will not be able to procure food. Ploughing oxen (*gâv varzâ*) also will not get grass (علف) and all animals will be destroyed (*gardê talaf*)" (p. 80 last line).

Like water and fire, ground also should not come into contact with *nasâ*. If you place a dead body on the naked (برهنه) ground, Spendar-mad, who presides over ground, will be displeased (p. 81, l. 9). He will be displeased even if you bury it. So, it is better to place it in the *Dakhma*, where it does not come into direct contact with the naked earth. Again, the inner layers of ground are wet (*sir-i zamin ham-nam va âb ast*, l. 12). This is an additional reason not to bury, because otherwise the spirit

3. Water Falling from Heavens over the *Nasâ* in a *Dakhma*.

4. *Nasâ* to be placed in a *Dakhma* to avoid contact with ground.

of water will be displeased. In burial the spirits (*mino*), both of the land and water are affected. Again, the body when exposed must not be covered over with much of cloth (جامه نیز هم پوشیده نشود, p. 81, l. 7), because, in that case, uncleanness (*palîdi*) will linger long. The place of the *nasâ* must be far away from cultivation.

The *nasâ* of the living (*nasâ zindegân*), e.g., skin, hair, nails, and flesh from the body (p. 82, l. 15, also teeth, p. 83, l. 4) is the same as that of the dead. So, the living *nasâ* also should not be carelessly exposed. Whatever that is separated from the body is something like dead. Both, the living *nasâ* and the dead *nasâ* (*ân ke as tan judû shûdeh bâshad chê ân ke ne-shudeh bâshad*, p. 82, l. 7), do harm if thrown carelessly into water or fire. So, even things separated or cut off should not be thrown into fire and water. They are all connected with the body (*ham band*, p. 82, l. 16). These are spoken of as *hehr nasâ*.

Even if one holds his hand or foot over fire with a *kush* (کوش)¹, so that the hair on the hand and foot burn, he commits a *margarzân sin*. All the above is said on the authority of the 8th chapter of the Vendidad (p. 82, l. 14).

If one has carelessly thrown the *nasâ* of his body in reaped but unthrashed corn (*kharman*), he must try to collect that back (*bâz yaband*). If it is not possible to collect all, all (the corn), about which there is a great doubt (*gumântar*), that it contains the *nasâ*, may be separated, and may not even be given to cattle (*gâv*) for food. That, of

1 If we take the word to be *kaush* for *kafsh*, it means shoe. Or, the word may have been miswritten for *kos*, then, it means a kind of garment, "The longest corner of a garment or mantle" (Steingass). Parsees use the word (kas کس) in this sense when they speak of *دشمنی کس*.

which there is no doubt (*bishak*), may be given to cattle for food. The rest may be abstained from (*be-parhizand* p. 83, l. 2).

The same subject is treated on the authority of the Rivāyat of Kame Bohreh. It says, that, if during the autumn cultivation or during autumnal rain (*kharifat* for *kharif*), the skin or flesh of a person is separated from his body and falls in the cultivated field, and is suddenly seen in the crop when it is harvested (*kharman*), but is lost sight of (*nā paedā*)¹, or if suddenly some blood falls from the nose on the corn of the crop all possible search and careful examination should be made and good examination (*takhshus*)² should be made and steps may be taken as said in the preceding passage given from Kāus Kama.

If the above *hehr nasā*, i.e., the decomposing thing

7. *Nasā* of the of a living person, is taken to, or happens
Living turns *pad-* to come within, three steps (*gām*) of
yab into *vadyab*. barsam or such other *pādyāb*, i.e., pure
p. 83, l. 15. things, then the *pādyāb* things become *vādyāb*,³ i.e., impure
or unclean.

If a person is going on his business (*kheshkārī*), and,

8. The Effect if unwittingly, some dead matter, as
of the *Nasā* of the described above, falls from his body over
Living upon ho- fire or water, he will be held innocent,
nest and dishonest persons. p. 84, l. 1. if he is going out on good honest

1 The litho-text gives *ta paida* by mistake of the copyist p. 83, l. 7.

2 We have no word in Persian like *takhashush* (تخشش). It may be Pahlavi *takhshu* (𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲) Pahl. Vend. XV, 14. Hoshangji's Vendidad Glossary, p. 222, from Av. 'vitachina' melting. In that case it means a kind of selection and purification. Or it may be Arabic تخصيص 'takhsis,' i.e., particularising. In that case also it means a kind of separation and selection.

3 وادیاب "Reduced to nothing" (Steingass).

business, but, if he is going out on an errand of mischief (*fasâdi*) or dishonest work (*gunah kârî*), then he is sinful.

This seems to be, though strange, a very beautiful way of preaching honesty. Be honest and you will not be held responsible for bad or irreligious actions done unwittingly. But if you are dishonest, you will be held responsible (p. 84).

It is required, on the authority of the 83rd chapter¹, that a cultivator must examine carefully the conduits by which he waters his fields, and the fields also before watering them. He must see that there is no *nasâ* there.

If, after beginning to water, in the midst of the work, he suddenly happens to see *nasâ* somewhere in the field, he must at once divert the course of the water and remove the *nasâ* if possible. He is not responsible, if ere he sees it, so that he could remove that, the *nasâ* has already come into contact with the running water, because he did his best to prevent contact or contamination beginning before his work. If he neglected in the beginning to examine the field and the conduits, then he is responsible and sinful. He becomes *riman* and must take Barashnûm. We find, that the efficacy of the Barashnûm, which was originally a kind of purification for real contact with dead bodies likely to spread contagion, is here differentiated. If the man had done his duty of proper examination, he is not guilty for

1 The name of the book is not mentioned, but it seems that the Sad-dar is meant. Now the 83rd chap. of the Sad-dar does not treat of dead matter in a cultivated field; but the 75th chap. treats of it (*Vide* (a) S.B.E., Vol. 24, pp. 338-39 ; (b) Ervad B. N. Dhabhar's Sad-dar Nasr, p. 52 ; (c) Gujarati Sad-dar-i Behr-i Tavil b Dastur Jamesji, chap. 85, p. 332).

what seems to be an unavoidable event. If not, he is guilty, though possibly, the unavoidable event happened later on. He is guilty and his moral guilt can be washed by a physical ceremonial bath.

A Zoroastrian labourer hires labourers (وند را کراید²)

10. The Responsibility of a Zoroastrian Cultivator for the work of his Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian labourers. p. 84, l. 16.

for his field: one is a Zoroastrian and another non-Zoroastrian (*air va an-air*, p. 85, l. 9). He has ordered both to see before watering the fields that there was *nasà* on the land. If the

Zoroastrian labourer is in charge of the field and if *nasà* is found in the field, the responsibility is not on the owner but on the Zoroastrian labourer. But in the case of the non-Zoroastrian, the responsibility is on the owner, because, howmuchsoever the jud-din labourer may have accepted the responsibility to examine the field, beforehand, he is not expected to know all the rules and regulations about the *nasà*. The owner ought to have thought so beforehand, and not engaged the jud-din labourer. In this case Doctors differ a little. Another Rivayat differs and takes a little tolerant view, that, if the jud-din labourer has undertaken to look to the matter, the owner is not much wrong.

The pith of the whole matter is that it is better to employ Zoroastrian labourers. If you cannot find these, then have a jud-din, but satisfy yourself that he is intelligent and will take all possible care to examine the fields before watering them and see that there is no *nasà*. If you do not take all possible care to make the best selection of a labourer, and the consequence is bad, then you are responsible (p. 85, ll. 9 et seq.).

1 Vādar from vand وند labour.

2 From کرایه hire.

If a Zoroastrian owns land with¹ a jud-din, the Zoroastrian must do his best to examine that there is no *nasâ* in the field or the water-courses or the *kashav*² (کشو). If he does not do so, he becomes *rîman*. These secrets (*râz*) about the *nasâ* must not be told to jud-dins, lest in the case of a quarrel (*satiz*), he may make matters worse (*batâr, badtar*).

The question is, if a Zoroastrian sees *nasâ* on a land cultivated by a jud-din, and finds that it may soon come into contact with water or fire, can he remove it at once, without *sag-did*³ and without a *zor*⁴, i.e., holding a *paicand* with another person? The Reply is: "if he has no doubts but is sure that such a thing will happen he may at once proceed to the work and do without a *sag-did* and *zor*. But if he has only doubts and is not sure that the *nasâ* will soon come into contact with water or fire, he may wait and try to secure both *sag-did* and *zor*".

(a) Running water, at the distance of 9 steps⁵ in the direction from which it runs, is pure. In the opposite direction, i.e., that to which it runs or descends, purity begins from 30 steps; on both sides (*pahlui*), 6 steps

11. The responsibility of a Zoroastrian in the case of land owned in partnership with a jud-din. p. 85, l. 15.

12. The Duty of a Zoroastrian if he sees *nasâ* on the land of a jud-din. . 85, l. 18.

13. Condition of the Purity of water in which *nasâ* has fallen. p. 86, l. 3.

1. *Yâ* in our text is a mistake for *bâ* (p. 85, l. 15).

2. *Kashav* is, I think, what we in India call *झील*, i.e., the rope and the leather or cloth bucket in which water is drawn from the well with the help of bullocks. The whole apparatus is so called from the fact that *kashav* is "the plant from which ropes are made" (Steingass).

3. It is elsewhere enjoined that *Sagdid* (the sight of a dog) shall be performed before the removal even of such *nasâ* and that it shall be removed not by one man but by two men in a pair (*zur*).

4. The word *zor*, as we use it, is *زور* (*زور ۛۛۛۛۛ*), i.e., pair. It is Pahlavi *zor* (Pahl. Vênd. III, 14. Vide Hoshangji's Vendidad, p. 68, l. 15. It is Sans. *जुड़* pair.

5. *gâm*. The Gujarati Rivâyat speaks of a *gâm* as a '*dag*' (*ડાગ*).

(cf. Vendidad, Chap. VI, 31). Water beyond the above distance from where the *nasâ* is flooding in the running water of a stream or river is pure, and can be drunk or used for purificatory purposes (*pâdyâb*). In case of standing (*estadeh*) water (like that of a pond) all water 6 steps and 3 feet (*pae*) round the *nâsâ* is *rîman*.

(b) All the above applies, if the *nasâ* is not wet, i.e., if nothing oozes out of it, and if no blood or fat from it is mixed with water. In that case, water taken from beyond the above distances may be used for drinking purposes and for *pâdyâb* (purification). In this case, the *nasâ* should be removed and so exposed that it may be dry. In case, the *nasâ* is wet and fat from it has mixed with the running water, then all the standing water is *rîman* and not fit for use. It must be left alone till it (i.e., the pond or whatever it be) becomes dry (*khuk shavad*, p. 86, l. 16). It may not even be used for cultivation.

(c) If there is a running stream, and if there is *nasâ* in it which has remained unobserved for some time, the water upto the distance of 9 steps from it up the current, and 30 steps down the current, and 6 steps on the sides should not be used. If one has already drunk the water from down the current, not knowing that there was *nasâ* in it he must act as follows: If the *nasâ* is oozing (*daridah lit. torn*), he may pour 10 *setar* (ستار)¹ of oil (*raoghan*) in the water at the spot of the *nasâ* and observe how far the oil spreads in the water. If he finds that he had drunk water from within the limit upto which the oil has spread, then he may take himself to have become

and says that each ૩૫ consists of ૩ ૩૫૧. A ૩૫૧ is made up of 3 feet of a person, i.e., the distance measured by a man by the sole of his feet, i.e., three times the length of the sole of his feet.

1 The Gujarati Rivâyat speaks of બે પડા, i.e., two potfuls. It speaks of the 'roghan' as ghee (ગી).

rīman. If the water was drunk from beyond the limit of the oil, he is not *rīman* (p. 87, ll. 1 *et seq.*).

(d) If one sees *nasâ* in water, he must go into the water, remove it at once; otherwise he incurs a *margarzân* sin. But if there is some risk in going into the water and he is afraid, then lesser sin, that of *tanâfur*, applies to him. He must not turn his back towards the *nasâ*, i.e., go away without removing it. If he, for the time being, goes away with a view to return soon (possibly with some means or resources to remove it) and does not return, he becomes *rīman*, but if he is unavoidably kept back and does not return he does not become *rīman*, (p. 87, ll. 5 *et seq.*).

(e) When he returns and enters into the water, with a firm mind that he would alone (*yak-tan*, l. 13) remove the *nasâ* and then shakes the *nasâ* (*jumbânad*) he does not become *rīman*.¹ But if he enters into water, not with the pure intention of removing the *nasâ*, but only for the sake of a show, to indicate that he did his duty as enjoined, then he is *rīman* for the fault of shaking the *nasâ*.

(f) When the *nasâ* is removed, all possible care should be taken that it is placed on the shore as far as possible because, if any particles of water from the moist *nasâ*, freshly removed from the water, flow back to the water, he incurs a *margarzân* sin (p. 87, l. 16).

(g) When the *nasâ* so brought out becomes dry, it must be given the *sagdid*, and two persons may remove it to the proper place (*jae-gah*). Similar injunctions are also given in the *châshtah* (چاشتہ, p. 87, l. 18).²

¹ Shaking the *nasâ* in water is wrong, because thereby he spreads more contamination round about.

² Pahl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 Pahl. Vend. III 14, 42 etc. Vide Hoshangji's Vend. Glossary, p. 65. From Avesta root 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 (Sans. चित् to know, Av. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎, i.e., wisdom) opinion, saying, writing, teaching; a book, knowledge; sometimes in the sense of Arab. فتوى. *Chastah* seems to be the religious 'farmans' or precepts. I think, it may be derived

(h) The clothings of the person, who removes the *nasâ* from water, become *rîman*. He also must wash himself (*sar o tan*) with *pâdyâb* (consecrated water) and water.

(i) Then comes the following injunctions:

چون نسا در آب میکشد تا بدانجای که در آب پیوسته است
 شاید که می کشد و کر آب از هم جدا باشد چنانکه کرده کرده باشد
 نشاید کشند (p. 88, l. 1)

The language is simple, but the meaning is not clear, unless we take the word *kashidan* here in some technical sense. I think one must take here the word *kashidan* in the sense of "kash kashidan," i.e., to draw the *kash*. If we take it in that sense, the meaning seems to be that, just as you draw a *kasha* round *nasâ* on ground, you must draw it in the water, wherein the *nasa* has fallen. If the water is separated into *kardeh*, i.e., sections, i.e., in different enclosures, for example, in a field, where the field is divided into separate parts (*kiarehs*), then there is no need of drawing *kashas*.¹ If we take the word *kashidan* in its ordinary sense then the meaning would be this: "If *nasâ* is drawn in water, it is necessary that it (water) should be drawn away from that place upto which it (the *nasâ*) is mixed (*paevasteh*). If the water is separate from the whole (*ham*) body of

from 'Chashtan' meaning "to taste." Then it has figuratively come to mean, "to give the taste of", i.e., to teach religious precepts to others, e.g., we read in the Patet: "An din..... in Ahura Mazda Jarthosht chast", i.e., that religion which Ahura Mazda taught to Zoroaster.

1 For *Kashas*, vide my paper on "The *Kashas* of the Iranian *Barashnûm* and the Boundary line of the Roman *Lustrum*" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII, No. 8, pp. 557-72. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 330-337).

water as in the case of *kardehs* (i.e., cut off or separate fields) then such a drawing is not necessary. But, the difficulty is to draw a line, or limit in the water. Perhaps, what is meant is, that one can draw for use water from a place in the reservoir at some distance from the place upto which parts of the *nasâ* have flowed.

(a) If a desert (*dasht*) is full of water, i.e., if there is an expanse of water, and there is *nasâ* in it, and one goes into the water with a view to remove from the water there, as much *nasâ* as he possibly can, and if, after bringing out some *nasâ*, he becomes tired and helpless and is not able to bring out further, then he must try as much as possible to remove (or float) the *nasâ* from the place when the water is great (*bishtar*), i.e., deep, to where it is less (*kam-tar*), i.e., shallow. One must not postpone the removal as far as he can. If he does so, he becomes *rîman*. If one unnecessarily postpones the removal for some time and then does actually remove it at that time, even then he becomes *rîman* for having allowed the *nasâ* to remain longer in water (p. 88, ll. 2 *et seq.*).

(b) If a man sees *nasâ* in water (p. 88, l. 6) he must not go away from the place until he removes it. If he goes away with a view to bring instruments (*sâz va barg*) to remove the *nasâ*, that is allowable. While removing it with a club (*gûy* l. 10)¹ or stick, he must remove it so far, that the water attaching it may not run back to the *nasâ* water.

(c) If the quantity of the *nasâ* in the water is very great, he may remove it by bits (*karda karda*, p. 88, l. 18). After removing every bit, he must perform the *padyâb* and dry his hands with dust. For every bit that he thus brings

1 کوی button, anything round. The word may have been miswritten for کتک *katak*, a stick.

out, he gets the meritoriousness of one *tanâfur* (p. 89, l. 1). His clothes become *rîman* (and therefore must be rejected) and he must wash with *pâdyâb* and water.

(d) If one sees a big-sized *nasâ* in water and he is not able to remove it, and goes away with a view to bring somebody to remove it, it is permissible; but if he avoids removing it in spite of there being no danger (bim) or risk (ziyan), he incurs *margarzân* sin, (p. 89, l. 5).

(e) If one after properly examining his field and water-courses, lets water run into his field by putting up *bands* (bandad) and then sees *nasâ*, in the water enclosed (در بسته, p. 89, l. 7), he must turn away (be-gardânad) other water running there and remove the *nasâ* without *sag-did*¹ and *ham-zur*. He is innocent, if the water suddenly runs up to the *nasâ*.

(f) If one sees an *an-ir* (i.e., juddin) cultivating a field and sees water about to reach *nasâ*, he may, if quite sure that the water will soon reach the *nasâ*, remove the *nasâ* without *sagdid* and *hamzur*. But if not sure, he must try to have *sag-did* and *zur* otherwise he would be *rîman* (p. 89, l. 10).

(g) If there be the *nasâ*, even of a jud-din, which is likely to come into contact with water or fire and which is in the way of passers-by, so that men may come in contact with it, then Behedins should do the needful to take care of it (be-pahrizand, p. 89, l. 15) and reject their clothes and wash with *pâdyâb* and water.

(h) If a man sees on a public road (*shâh rah*, lit. king's highway, p. 89, l. 17) *nasâ* likely to touch water and fire and to be crushed (*khurd kunand*, lit. make little) by passers-by so as to make them *rîman*, then he shall remove it to a

1 *Sag-na-did* is, at times, used for *bi-sagdid* (p. 89, l. 11).

2 *Hamguzreh* همگزره passing together. *Guzar*, a passage.

place where there may be no fear¹ of these. He may remove it alone and without *sag-did*. If he is not able to remove it, he may order an 'an-ir' also to do so (p. 89, l. 19), but that must be done according to the proper rules of taking (آلین شدن, p. 90, l. 3, *sitadan* same as *setādan*) and carrying the *nasā*.

(i) If one goes on his way for business and sees *nasā* on the land of somebody, if that land be of a Behdin, he must inform him of it; if that of a juddin, he must do the needful for disposal (*parhiz*). If he runs any risk in doing so, he may go away (p. 90, l. 6).

(j) If a man sees *nasā* on the cultivated ground of a jud-din, where there is no chance of its coming into contact with fire and water, he may remove it alone and without *sagdid*, but if there is any chance of contact, then *sagdid* is necessary and he cannot remove it alone (p. 90, l. 7). He shall remove it where there is no such risk of contact.

A well must never be covered (*sar chāh na shayad*, p. 90, l. 14). Nobody should drink from it.
 15. Well not to be covered, If ever *nasā* has fallen into it, one who drinks from it becomes *rīman*. Even if one has unknowingly (*nā-danesteh*) drunk from it, he becomes *rīman* and the crime of the master of the well becomes *margarzān*. The man who drinks from such a well must take *barashnūm*.

A well that is built with burnt bricks (p. 91, l. 10) and has the bottom portion (*teh*) built with wood requires a stricter handling in case some *nasā* of dung (*charkin*) has fallen into it. Two persons must hold *paiwand*, take the *bāj* of Sarosh till *ashahe*, and put on gloves (*kisseh*) of three-fold covers or layers (*jūl*), and holding in the hand with a *paiwand* a long-handled vessel² of an iron spoon (*chamchah*).

1 Per. bim بيم is miswritten for bi-bim بيم.

2 چاه a spoon.

Then one of them may go to the well and with the spoon bring the *nasâ* to the edge of the useless (bid بیاد) well and bring it out carefully and placing it on the ground, may let it dry. Then after performing sagdid they may carry it to the proper place (dâd-gah, p. 92, l. 14). The well must be left unused for a year, after which its water may be used for drinking.

It is said, on the authority of the Sad-dar Nasr¹, that, water for washing or cleaning must be poured as little as possible at night, especially in the northern direction. If you have to use it necessarily, do so with the recital of an Yathâ Ahû Vairyo and pour it slowly (âhasta). As far as possible, water should not be used for washing and drinking at night. If you have to drink it, do so in the presence of some light (rûshanî) and eat something before drinking it (p. 91, l. 19). In that case you will commit less sin. Once you have gone to bed (khuftê, lit. slept), you must not drink water. Never drink water in the dawn (bamdad) with an hungry or empty stomach (nâshtha)² (p. 92, l. 4). Do not even take water in your mouth (dehân). Otherwise you will be out of your sense (bihûsh).

When you bathe, take care that the water which you pour over your body does not come into direct contact with any *nasâ*, which there may be on your body. To do so, first apply over your body some sap or juice of some plant (âb-i nabât) and then wash

16. Prohibition of the use of Water at Night, p. 91, l. 17.

17. Application of the Juice of trees or of Cow's urine before bathing. Its object. p. 92, l. 5.

1 This forms the 30th chapter of the Sad-dar. Vide West S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, p. 292. Here, the subject seems to be well-nigh a full version of the chapter. Vide for the text, the Sad-dar Nasr by Ervad Bomanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar (1909), chap. 30, p. 24. Vide the Gujarati Sad-dar (સદદર ગુજરાતી, 1881) by Dastur Jamsaji M. Jamsaspasana, Chap. XXIV, p. 199.

2 The same word also means breakfast.

your body with water. All dirt (zang)¹ must be removed. It seems that the juice of trees and *dast shu* (دست شو)², spoken of a little further on, are intended to act as it were as a coating between the naked body, which may have some *nasâ* or *palidi* (e.g., there may be some blood oozing from a wound), and the water. The application of the juice of trees prevents water from coming into direct contact with the *nasâ* or *palidi* on the body.

Similarly, the menses of a woman is a kind of *zindeh*

18. The Bath of *nasâ* and so it should not be allowed to
 a Woman in come into direct contact with water which
 Menses, p. 92, l. 6. she must have for bathing. So it is enjoined, that, when a woman bathes after being free from her menses at the end of the regular monthly course (*sar dashtân shûyand*, lit. washes the head of the menses), she must first apply to her body *dast-shu*, i.e., urine of the cow, and then bathe with water. But she must not bathe at the same place where she has taken the *dast-shu* (urine), because it is possible that perhaps, a few drops of it may have fallen on the ground. The *dast-shu*, having been applied first to the naked body of the woman in menses, has become *rîman* or *nasâ*; so, if she bathes at the same place, where she has applied the *dast-shu* to her body, the water of the bath, which is to flow, will fall upon the particle of the *dast-shu* on the ground—particles which are polluted with the *nasâ* of the menses. So, she must shift to another place close by

1 Zang (p. 92, l. 8) lit. means rust. Here what Parseis call 'mél' مەل seems to be meant.

2 دست شو lit. means "that with which they (first) wash their hands". In older Parsee phraseology used upto about 50 years ago, the word was used for the urine of cow, which was also spoken of as "nirang" and "âb-i zar," i.e., the golden coloured or yellow water, from its yellow colour when fresh. It is also spoken of as 'gomez' from Avesta 'Gao-maeza.'

and then have her bath. But, before bathing, she should let all the *dast-shu* on her body be dry.

One must not wash in the morning, without first applying *av-zar* (cow's urine) to the body, so that, if there be any *palidi* on the body, it may not come into contact with water. If there be *palidi* on the body and its mark (*zang*, lit. rust or dirt) has stuck to the body and cannot be cleaned, that portion shall be cut off from the body, and duly disposed of (*parhikhtan*) and then the water may be poured over the body for a bath. One must bathe every two or three days. In the summer, if three days have passed without bathing, one must never pour water over his head without a previous application of *dast-shu*.

One must not bathe on *roz Abân* and never drink water at night and foolishly (*bi-hudeh va gazâf*) waste it for unnecessary purposes. He must not throw water upon a wall (*divâr*) otherwise, he will displease *Khordâd Ameshaspand* and *Bânu Ardvisura*.

As to water which is collected (*ambâr*) or stored (*barg*) in a place (*e.g.*, in a reservoir), it is mentioned (*mazkur*), that it shall not be used if *Darvands* (*jud-dîns*) have touched it (*dakhal kardeh bâshad*). But, if water is so collected in a pot or cattle (*qadir*), in a desert or waterless (*bi-âbân*) place, it may unavoidably be used.

It takes one year for pure (*pâk*) water to go down and mix with the sub-soil (*tabâb*) water. Polluted (*palid*) water takes 3 years; bath water and washed water 3¹/₂ years; *riman* water, which has fallen upon a *nasâ*, 9 years. What is meant to be said is this, that the more the water is contaminated, the

19. Some observations for Wash or Bath. p. 92, l. 9.

20. Not to bathe on or drink water at night on *Abân roz*. p. 92, l. 11.

21. Prohibition of the Use of Water touched by *Juddin*.

22. Mixture with surface sub-soil water. p. 92, l. 17.

longer it takes to go to the bottom and meet and mix with sub-soil water.

The subject of sub-soil water, brings the writer to the subject of the supply of water to the great Farâgard or Farâhkand Sea, which is the Avesta Vourukasha (the Caspian). This sea is supplied with water by 1000 subterranean streamlets (surâkh-i tâl-i zarrîn, lit. holes of golden pond tâl); 330 of these streamlets or canals or channels (nâvdan) are as broad as to permit a horseman to pass; 333 would permit a standing man¹ and 333 a goat to pass. These channels are connected with the Elbourz mountain. The Yazata Ardivisura Anahita, has a spiritual hand in bringing about this revolution of water from Heaven (asmân). Were it not for this, the great sea which produces clouds and rain, would be dry within three or four years. The above revolution of water keeps its water at the same level. The Elbourz (*i.e.*, the mountains) and the sea are round (gard â gard, p. 93, l. 11) the whole world. The water that flows from the Elbourz is like mercury (sim-âb). The water at first falls hot into hell so that its (hell's) *palidi* is washed away and cleaned by it. The water then passes to a place where there is an ass² with three feet (khar sê pâi) called khar-i-talâta. The sight of this khar-i talâta, falling upon the hot dirty water from hell, purifies it. It then goes into all the seas of the world. The water of the above seas advances and recedes twice a day. That is due to the heat of the Sun (saqr, l. 19). One of the above-mentioned

1 On the authority of Bahman Punjiyeh. Here the word is cow.

2 This three-legged ass is referred to in the Bundeshesh XIX 1-12. *Vide* S.B.E., V, p. 67 *et seq.* *Vide* my Gujarati translation of the Bundeshesh, pp. 77 *et seq.* It is an allegorical account of a natural phenomenon.

channels is from Mount Saokant. Wind carries away water produced by its connection with the heavens and spread it over the whole world. That water is called moisture or dew (nam, p. 94, l. 1).

In the above Vourukasha sea, God has created the Tree of Hom and for the protection of that tree created a great fish called Khar-mâhi, which is the largest of fishes (p. 94, l. 4). This fish protects the tree from asses and camels which Ahriman has created and set upon for eating away the tree. All the fish get conceived (hamaldar) at the shout (bâng) of this great fish. The grubs of that kind of fish, which are the creation of Ahriman, and of the type of the above ass and camel, get their grubs destroyed by the shout of this fish.

Here some verses, declared as coming from the Mino-i kharad, repeat with some modification the above account of the Khar-i talâta and Khar-i mâhi. Then, referring to what is called ma'ami-idoâ (منی دعا), some account of birds *amru* and *chamru* is given and it is added that (p. 95, l. 1) :

« دادار اورمزد بر کناره زره رکش دریا یکی درخت

و دو مرغ انوشه و بی مرک آفریده است آندرخت را هرسالی

هزار شاخ نو بیدامی شود بر آن شاخ تخم بتمام آویزد و آن تمام

تخم پخته شوند یکی مرغ که امرش نام است او بیاید و بر آن

شاخ بنشیند و آتشاخ را بجنبانند بتمام تخم را بر زمین فرو ریزد

و دیگر مرغ چرش نامست او بیاید و بر از برو بازوی خویش بزند

تمام تخم را در دریا باندازد همان تخم در دهان ابر باران بیاید

همان ابر بر زمین بارد تمام تخمها بر زمین پیدا آید »

All this mention of clouds and wind and rain and of mountains and seas etc. shows, that the above long narration

from the beginning of the story of Mt. Elbourz is a figurative or mythological description of the meteorological and physio-geographical phenomena, connected with the atmospheric vapour of the earth.

After this digression,—not a disconnected digression but an appropriate digression,—we come back to the great subject of *Nasâ* again, which is resumed with the subject of walking with uncovered feet, which is bad from the point of health, as there are chances of your coming into contact with *Nasâ*.

When one walks bare-footed, he commits for every step (gâm), a *tanâfur* sin upto three steps. 24. Walking bare-footed is a sin, When he takes a fourth step, the sin is p. 95, l. 7. *tanârînî*. The above sins apply even if one foot has a shoe and the other not. These sins apply both to men and women, but in the case of a menstruous woman it is greater. In that case, even the Aspandarmad Ameshaspand feels shy (larzad). The sin of walking bare-footed¹ is called *aemûk dvârashni* ايموس دوارشني. This sin is like that of feeding a person who is propitiating (*yazashn*) *târij*² and *zârij* *devs*. For the first step that a man walks bare-footed, the milk of 100 cows and sheep and camels, gets diminished (*be-kâbad*). For the second step, the milk of 200 quadrupeds gets diminished; for the 3rd step that of 300 cows and sheep, and for the fourth step that of all the cows and sheep and quadrupeds of all the seven continents (*keshvar*) of the world get diminished (p. 95, l. 19).

A priest (*herbad*) can walk bare-footed on a carpet (*farsh*) of cloth or linen, or silk or leather (*بوشتين*). It is said, on the authority of the 44th chapter of the *Sad-*

1 Here the reference is to the nakedness of one foot. In 'aemuk', 'ae' means 'one' and 'muq' (موك) is boot.

2 These *divs* are the *Tairich* and *Zairich* of the *Bundehesh*, Chap. 27. Vide my Gujarati translation of the *Bundehesh*, pp. 8-9.

dar Nasr¹, that the sin of walking bare-footed is called kushâdeh-dvârashni, *i.e.*, open or uncovered walking (p. 96, ll. 1-3).

Our Rivâyat now enters into that branch of the large subject of *Nasâ*, which refers to the protection of the Earth from the *Nasâ*. We said above, that *Nasâ*, has to be kept away, as far as possible, from the four ancient elements, Fire, Water, Earth and Air. We have dealt with the first two elements Fire and Water. Now we come to the third and the fourth (p. 96, l. 5) referring to it as *parhiz-i-zamin*. The Rivâyat of Kama Bohra at first tells us what is meant by the *parhiz-i-zamin*. It speaks of it as *داشتن زنگه* or *در بر زین*, *i.e.*, to look over and take care of *zamin*, *i.e.*, Earth, so that *nasâ* and *murdâr* and *palidi* may not be concealed or buried under earth. If one buries *nasâ* in the ground, Asfandarmad Ameshasfand is pained, as much as one, when he is poisonously bitten by a scorpion or serpent, because God has entrusted everything to a Firashta (angel) or Ameshaspand who takes care of it. So, the earth is entrusted to Aspandarmad. Such *nasâ*, *palidi* or *murdâr* shall be deposited in a place over which men do not pass and where there is no cultivation, *e.g.*, on a mountain or a desert. The same injunction is repeated on the authority of the 33rd chapter of the Sad-dar Nasr², with this little addition that the snake or scorpion is mentioned as biting under

1 *Vide* S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, Sad-dar, chap. 44. *Vide* Bomanji N. Dhabhar's Sad-dar Nasr, chap. 44, p. 34. *Vide* Dastur Dr. Jamaspji's Gujarati Sad-dar-i Behar-i-Tavil (સદદરે બેહરે તવીલ), chap. 48, p. 247.

2 West, S.B.E., Vol. 24, chap. 33. Ervad B. N. Dhabhar's Sad-dar Nasr, chap. 33, p. 36. Dastur Jamaspji's Sad-dar-i Behar-i Tavil, chap. 37, p. 203.

a sleeping suit (jame-i khwâb)¹.

Then, the Spirit of Wisdom (Mino-i-kherad)² is represented as declaring the following 12 kinds of ground happy:—

1. One on which a righteous man has his house (mân).
2. One with a house (mân) of an Atash-Behrâm on it.
3. One with flocks of cattle and sheep.
4. One which is turned fertile (âbadân) from a state of sterility (vairân).
5. One from which the holes of *kharfastars* are removed.
6. One on which Yazashna and Myazd in honour of God are performed.
7. One belonging to the An-airân (jud-dins) which is rendered fertile (âbadân) by the Behedins.
8. One which is made to pass from the ownership (khîshi) of bad persons (badân) into that of the good (behân).
9. One the products of which are given to the Behân.
10. One on which they recite Setâyash and Afringâns.
11. One on which they daily recite the Yazashna.
12. One on which a righteous man is born (zâyad).

On the authority of the Sad-dar Bundehehsh³, a list⁴ is

1 BU (f. 191b, l. 10) adds, in the midst of this matter, some verses, on the authority of the 48th chapter of the Sad-dar Nasr, on the subject of barefootedness. This is misplaced. It might have gone in a little above.

2 *Vide* Minokherad, chap. V, West S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, pp. 27-28. For the Pazend text of the Minokherad, *vide* West's "The Book of the Mainyô-i Khard" (1871), p. 14. For the Sanskrit text, *vide ibid.* p. 74. For the Pahlavi text, *vide* Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlavi Dina-i Mainyu-i Khrat, p. 17. *Vide* Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria's Pahlavi, Pazend and Sanskrit texts of the Danak-u Mainyô-i Khard with my Introduction, p. 38.

3 Sad-dar Bundehehsh, chap. 77. Ervad B. N. Dhabhar's Sad-dar Nasr va Sad-dar Bundehehsh, (1909), pp. 147-48.

4 In BU (f. 192a, l. 1), the order of these two lists is inverted.

given as follows:—

1. One on which a good and pious man builds his house and spreads prosperity.
2. One on which a good (mastûr) and pious woman, gives birth to, and nourishes, children.
3. One on which they plant trees.
4. One from which they draw out (bîrûn kûnand or dig out)¹ holes of snakes, scorpions, rats, chanandgâno² and kharfastars and drive them out.
5. One on which men, animals and other creations of God are born and nourished.

The same subject is treated in verse on the authority of Bahman Punjiyeh as a conversation between God and Zoroaster. The orders differ a little from both the above lists. Here is an instance of how ceremonial and rites and beliefs grow in time. The original in the Vendidad (III, 1-20) spoke of 5 places feeling happy. The Minokherad made the number 10. Then the present Rivâyat, though it mentions the authority of the Minokherad, raises the number to 12.

BU (f. 192a) does not give these lines but gives a number of verses as composed by Darab Hormazdyâr himself. We learn from this, that Darab Hormazdyâr composed these verses (24 couplets) from the contents of the Minokherad. Then follow some 18 couplets on the same subject composed by him from the context of the chapters of Vendidad.

Then follows (p. 97, l. 14) a list in verses of a list of lands which feel unhappy (nâ-khush) or displeased (nâ-shâd) or oppressed (dar sitam), or *pashomand*³ or *zehro-*

1 BU has "dig out."

2 حید "a horse that travels slowly; an idle lazy fellow" (Steingass). The words seem to have been meant for snail-like reptiles.

3 For bishomand-tar, wherein bish (Avesta *thaésha*) is pain, sorrow. Bish is the "name of a poisonous plant resembling ginger" (Steingass).

*mandtar*¹:—

1. One where lies the door (dar) of Hell, which is frequented by *dadân*² and *divân*.
2. Burial-grounds, where rest *palidi* and *hehr* and *nasâ*³.
3. One where stands a *dakhma* and the place of the dead, which will continue as polluted or unholy (*vâdyâb*) till the Ristâkhiz.
4. One where live ferocious animals like wolves, lions and tigers and poisonous kharâstars (for kharfastars) like serpents and alligators (*nahang*.)
5. One where people die and all sit and weep and lament (*sûgwâri kunand*, p. 98, l. 1).

BU (f. 192b. 2) here gives another set of 28 couplets composed by Daran on the authority of the Minokherad. Then we find in our text another list of unhappy lands, given on the authority of the Minokherad from Kama Bohrah Rivâyat. It runs as follows: (p. 98, l. 4.)

1. The ground on which lives a menstruous woman.
2. One on which lives a shahi⁴ Daruj, i.e., a bad lusty woman:
3. One where live the *kharvastars* (noxious insects).

1 Poisonous.

2 Dadân "useless, unprofitable" (Steingass). Parsees speak of a bad kind of woman, of the type of witches, as *dadâ* (داده). Perhaps this is the same word as above 'dadân'. 'Divan' may be male and 'dadân' female ones.

3 BU gives (f. 162b, l. 14) another version. As to the word which our text and MU gives as *hajr* حجر I think the word is miswritten for *hehr* هر. The *nasâ* of the living is spoken of as *hehr nasâ*. We do not find in Persian or Arabic, the word *hajr* in the sense of *nasâ*.

4 *shahi* = wishful, lustful. cf. Arabic *shahwi* شهوي "a lascivious woman" (Steingass).

4. One on which live the wicked minded (akhân)¹ who are *darômad*².
5. One on which live unworthy³ person (na-sâzagân).
6. One on which live abominable noxious creatures (kharastaran, for kharfastaran).⁴
7. One which passes from the possession of the virtuous to that of the wicked.
8. One on which there is the oppression⁵ (avârûni) of the bad persons.
9. One on which there is calamity (auzand) over innocent persons.
10. One where they practise magic.

Then follow (p. 98, l. 8) a third list on the authority of the Sad-dar Bandhush⁶ (Bundelesh) of five melancholy (dazam) troubles of land:—

1. One on which come evil, irreligious, murderous (qatâl) persons who do evil.
2. One on which they conceal deadly filth (palidi murdâr va nasâ).
3. One on which they bring and keep slaves (bandeh) and servants (parastâr) and keep them in bondage (bandgi).
4. One on which live kharfastars, weak persons (jamand).⁷

1 Cf. Ar. 'akh' filth, dirt. It is Pahl. 'aka' bad as in Akoman. 'aka' in head ache.

2 It seems to be miswritten for darvand.

3 P. 'saz', worthy; 'nâ-sâz,' unworthy.

4 'karih', abominable, detestable.

5 Pahl. avârûni, wickedness.

6 Vide chap. 77, ss. 12-17 of the Text of the Sad-dar (Nasr and) Bundelesh by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, p. 140.

7 The meaning of the word is doubtful. *ak* means "slow, languid" (Steingass).

5. One on which they extirpate trees and vegetation (shahr va nabât) that may have grown there, before they come to maturity.

About one passing water (*âb-tâkhtan kardun*), tradition (hadis) says, that every time you ^{27. To pass Urine.} make water, you commit a *tanâvari* sin, ^{Its Baj or Recital.} unless you do so according to the proper injunction for the purpose. The fixed place for the purpose is called *Hâjat-gâh*, i.e., the place for the necessary purpose. The proper injunctions are the following:

A man wishing to go at the *hâjat-gâh* (a) must stop at the distance of 3 steps from it and (b) recite an *Yathâ-Ahû-vairîyô*. (c) Then, he may answer the call of nature, but speak nothing during the process. (d) Finishing the process and coming out of the *hâjat-gâh*, he shall recite 3 *Ashem vohûs*, 2 *humatanâms*, 3 *hukhshathrotêmâs*, 4 *Yathâ Ahû vairîyôs*, *Ahunem vairim* upto *Yenghê hatâm* and last another *Ashem vohû*. This forms what is known or spoken as *Pishâb ni bāj* (i.e., Baj of *pishâb* پیشاب or urine). If he observes this injunction, this act, instead of becoming a *tanâvari* sin, becomes a *tanafahri* act of righteousness, each worth 1200 dirams. The words of a man who always observes this rule, are accepted and liked by kings and great men.

Further observances about the call of Nature are the following:

- (a) Not to pass urine in a standing position but in a sitting position. If not that is a *tanafari* sin.
- (b) He must take care that the stream of the water, that he ejects shall not run more than the length of a foot extending from the heel (*pâshta*) to the top of his toe. If it runs longer, the sin for every drop beyond the above limit is a *tranâfar*.

In BU, we find the above subject repeated in a few verses which seem to be the composition of Darab Hormazdyâr himself.

According to the present practice, the first Yathâ Ahû vaîryô, is to be preceded by the words "Gunah shekastê sad hazâr bād, *i.e.*, "May the sin (of polluting the ground) be broken one hundred thousand times." The Humatanām prayer formula is taken from Yasna XXXV, 2; and the Hukhshathrotemâ from Yasna XXXV, 5; and the Ahunem Vairīm from Yasna XVIII and XXVII.

Our Rivāyat does not speak of another observance referred to by the Gujarati Rivāyat
 28. The use of which is still practised. It is what is now
kharu. spoken of as *kharu kardan* (ખરું કરવું).
 It is a practice observed even now by the Mahomedans also. This word *kharu* is perhaps Arabic *kharu* (خرو) which means "excrements". The word then seems to mean "the substance required to clean the bodily parts after excrements." The person practising it dries the portions excreting the excrements. The substance used for the purpose is the clod of soil one sees in the fields. Fire-temples were, and even now are, usually provided with a cart load of these clods of earth for the use of the officiating priests. At times, such clods are prepared in round oval forms in the compounds of the temples from ordinary ground soil and water. In the Barashnûm purification, during the ritual of 10 days which follows the purification itself, the use of water is prohibited. So, those who go through this purification, use these clods of soil in place of paper for sanitary purposes.

VII

DAKHMA, OR THE TOWER OF SILENCE, WHERE
THE NASÂ, OR THE DEAD BODY OF A MAN,
IS DISPOSED OF (p. 99).

DAKHMA (TOWER OF SILENCE).

Then follows the subject of the Dakhma, which plays a prominent part in the question of the "Parhiz-i-zamin". In fact, it is said, that the very custom of exposure to the sun is intended for the *parhiz* of the earth, i.e., for preventing the *nasâ* from coming into contact with ground (p. 99, l. 6).

At the place, where they build a Dakhma, the whole place, must be vacant (*tahî*) and must be far away from population (*âbadî*) and cultivation (*kišt-zâri*). Then they may mark out the dimension (*miqdâr*) of ground wanted for the purpose of fixing nails (*mikh*) in the four corners. Then the process of laying the foundation of the Dakhma is described.¹

At first the Bâj of Sarosh must be taken. Then to pass a cotton string (تانى²) three times round the four nails. The inside of the Tower should be of stone and lime. The floor of the Tower must be so made as to be a little separate

1 For the present Tâna or Foundation ceremony of the Dakhma, vide my paper on "The Consecration Ceremonies among the Parsees" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XI, pp. 530-36) Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," p. 245-49).

2 The word *tanâfi* is Arabic, meaning expelling, pursuing. So, it seems to mean a thin string (تار) drawn out from cotton. This ritual of passing the cotton string round the nails when laying the foundation of a Tower of Silence is now known as *tanâ purv* (تانہ پورہ), i.e., to spread out the cotton string.

from the ground (ز زمین جدا باشد), so that the dead body (nasa) placed on it may not touch the ground. The wall of the Tower also must be made of stone and lime. If these are not available, bricks and clay can do. On completion, a Vendidad in honour of Sarosh may be recited¹ in the *astodân*, the central well of the Tower where the bones are collected. The door of the Tower must be of iron or stone. Four Bâjs—in honour of (1) Saroash, (2) Dadâr Hormazd, (3) Asfandârmad and (4) Ardâfarosh—must be recited over the above enclosed ground before building the Tower. Besides the above said (p. 99, l. 3), 4 big nails (mikh), 36 of the middle size and 260 of lower size are required for marking the limit of the ground to be occupied by the Tower. As to the string to be taken round the pegs or nails, a string (târ) of 100 twines (rasiman) may be woven into one. This string must pass round the tower three times. One Yathâ Ahû Vairyô is to be recited while fixing each nail. The foundation is to be laid on these nails and twines. On the completion of the Tower, three Vendidads in honour of Sarosh shall be recited. Then, with the recital of 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Yathâ Ahû Vairyô's, 300 stones shall be thrown.² Then follow a statement (p. 100, l. 2) about a shaky takhtê (تختہ کی سی جہد) which is not intelligible. It seems to mean that everything must be

1 The phrase is "nasishtan-i Vendidad", i.e., the seating of the Vendidad. This is perhaps because the Zaoiti or officiating priest has to sit down on a Khan (a slab of stone) for all the time—about 7 hours—during which the Vendidad is recited. The modern Gujarati phraseology વસીતન વેદિદાદ comes from this.

2 This was a relic of the old custom of counting. Cf. the use of sang-rizeh in the Vendidad. *Vide* my paper on "Rosaries" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, p. 156. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Part II, p. 108. *Vide* my papers on "Sang-rizeh (pebbles) in a Parsee Ritual" in the Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume, pp. 398-407.

strong. The stone of the *urviç* (i.e., the place of performing the Yasna, Vendidad etc.) may be at the bottom¹ of the central well. The word *Takhtê* has among several meanings that of "a table upon which dead bodies are stretched and washed before internment, a bier."

We read:

تخته که می جنبد و سنگ ارویس آتش تک هست تخته نه آواید

بستن (p. 100, ll. 2-3)

I do not clearly understand this part of the ritual which is not observed in the present practice. The technical phraseology also is not intelligible. As to the *takhtê kê mijumbad*, i.e., "the platform which moves," may refer to the *hindhola* (𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎), the stone slab or platform, on which the *zoti* sits and officiates, and which is believed to have been so called, because the priest while reciting the prayer moves (𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎) forward and backward. The "*sang-i urvis-i atash*" seems to be the stone slab on which the censer stands.

The Tower must be round (*mudavwar*) not square (2. The Shape of the Dakhma. Materials for Construction, etc. p. 100, l. 5. *chehâr kushê*). Its door must face the east (*mashraq*). The copyist of the lithographed text has here omitted by mistake to copy about four lines from the original MU. This omitted portion says, that the foundation of the well of the Tower must be 5½ gaz. Then the well may be 3½ gaz. Over that again there shall be an extra height of 2 gaz. All parts of the work must be of stone and *chunam* (*sang va gach*). If a new Tower is to be built, water can be used in the construction, but when an old one is being repaired (کهنه خواهند که عمارت کنند), that must be done with *pâdyab*²

1 'Tak' means the bottom of the well.

2 It seems that by 'padyab' is meant *nirang* or *gaomez*, i.e., cow's urine, which is, at times, used in a kind of *padyab*.

and observing *pairwand* and *sagdid*. A proper outlet must be provided in the Tower so that the water may run out. It may run out and seek its own level anywhere (هون,¹ p. 100, l. 1) without going into the middle well (miân).

There a reference is given to the letter sent from Kerman in Persia in the name of Kuverjee Nanabhoy. Therein the 3rd chapter of the Vendidad is referred to to say that the Tower should be away from habitation, etc.

The omitted portion further says that the first body to be placed in a Tower should be that of a righteous, pious man (ashô) and immediately when he dies his legs must be brought together or folded (gird kardan)². It is reported on the authority of Kaus Mahyar that the first dead body to be deposited in a new Tower should be that of a high priest (Mobadân Mobad), who has never committed any fault (guneh, p. 100, l. 9).

Then follows a number of verses, taken from the Rivâ-yat of Bahman Punjiyeh, containing a conversation between Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster about the Dakhma. p. 101.

4. Conversation between Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster about the Dakhma. p. 101.

yat of Bahman Punjiyeh, containing a conversation between Ahura Mazda (غیدان the Knower of Secrets) and Zoroaster on the subject of the Dakhma:

Zoroaster asks: When and how shall they build a Tower when there is no mountain close by on which it can be safely built?

¹ Haun, quiet, tranquillity.

² At one time, there was a dispute among the Parsis, as to, whether the legs of the corpse should be folded, or kept in a stretched position at full length. At present, the clergy keep the feet full-stretched and the laity folded. The clergy of the Kadmi sect keep the feet folded. This passage, given on the authority of the Rivâyat of Kamdin Shapur, enjoins folded legs (MU f. 78a, l. 3).

Then follow a few more verses as conversation between Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster on the subject of keeping away water from *nasa* (parhikhtan-i âb az *nasa*, p. 102, l. 7). Zoroaster at first apologizes before God, for being a little embarrassed (عان)

5. Conversation between Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster about rain-water falling in a Dakhma. p. 102.

1 انير anyar. Arabic meaning "more or most clear; more or most bright, luminous" (Steingass).

2 Vide my প্রাচীন পার্শিয়ান (The Ancient Iranians) pp. 93-95 for all Avesta Pahlavi standards of measure and length. One *gām* is equal to 3 *pāha* (feet). A *pāha* is equal to 10½ inches. So, one *gām* is equal to about 2 feet 7½ inches.

for rudeness (*gustākhi*) if any, in asking a question (1.8. *پیرسم بگستاخی از تو عیان*) and then asks: "You have told us not to carry *nasâ* to running water. If one does so, he is tormented in Hell. O God! pardon me if I ask: How is it that you yourself with your own hand (*ba dast i khud*) pour running water and that again unprofitably (*i.e.*, uselessly, *ba hadr*¹) in the Dakhma where there are bones of the dead which form *rîmanî*, when you say to the people 'do not pour water over *nasâ*'?"

Ahura Mazda replied to Zoroaster, referring to him, as one better than the archangel Bahman (*behtar az Bahman*): "I pour water over the Dakhma in order that it may be cleaned (*shavad pâk*). No sooner I pour water there, the *rîmanî* (pollution) gets away from there. (Similarly) I have created the water of the sea (*âb-i zarah*), so that it may go running round the whole world and spread joy among all men. If I were not to pour water as rain over the Dakhmas nobody could remain in his city or country; the righteous would get no food; the field-cows (*gâv-i varza*) would get no grass (*'alf*) and all the animals would be destroyed (*gardad talaf*). So, all my creatures, whether large or small, great or less, bold or impudent (*gord va setorg*), wild or tame (*zakân va ramê*) be destroyed. Similarly, I scatter all round, the water of the sea so that mankind may be happy." Ahura Mazda then again pressed Zoroaster to tell mankind that they must keep *nasâ* at least 300 steps away from water and fire.

Then follows the question of the laity of Samarkand to Dastur Âzar Farrokhzad, on the subject of the temporary disposal of a dead body till a new Dakhma is built. The reply from the Dastur is to the effect that

6. Temporary Disposal of a Body before a new Dakhma is built. p. 103, l. 2.

1 *hadr* or *hadar*, unprofitable expenditure, useless effort.

the body of a dead person who had desired to be deposited in a new Dakhma that was being built, may temporarily be placed on a separate slab of stone in the old Dakhma, and then, on the new Dakhma being completed, it may be removed with all usual ceremony to the new Dakhma (p. 103).

The question is this: There is a Dakhma which is in a ruined condition (*pargandeh*, and its bottom or inner part (*tah*) is not of stones. If, till the time (*âivân*¹) when a new Tower whose foundation is already laid, is completed, somebody.. ..

(I do not clearly understand what follows. The sense is apparent but not the literal meaning.) The sentence runs thus:

اگر کسی^۲ آنکیدی کرپه^۳ گرزیدار بید و دیران بید
به کدوم جای باید نهادن

This may mean: "If one put to a distance that he may (*bid*)⁴ self-helping⁵ but (in the meantime) dies (*vadirân bid* or *buvad*), where shall (his body) be placed?" The reply of Dastur Āzar Farrokhzad is: "If, till the time that the new Dakhma is not wholly finished (*آره انجام نید*)⁶ p. 103, l. 4) somebody dies, he may be placed in a corner in an old Dakhma the bottom of which is of stone. The body (*nasâ*) may then be placed on it in its usual way. Then, when

1 Arab. ایوان (pl. of an) times.

2 Angidan or Angikhtan, to put to a distance.

3 Gurazidan, to help.

4 For buwad or bashad.

5 i.e., He may build a Tower for himself.

6 The word as written is آره. It seems that the sign ^ here is to denote, that the letter being wrongly written is to be struck off. Otherwise, the word would have no meaning. If we take this ^ sign for a - 'mad' and read the word as آره, *âra*, it means "root of

the new Dakhma is completed, if that Behedin leader has kept (*i.e.*, has been) a virtuous (*parârin*)¹ man." The reply further says (p. 103, l. 6) that, that was the custom with our forefathers and heroes and kings of olden times (*niyâ-gân-i ma va pehlvanân va padshahân*). Religious affairs should be done with good advantage (*beh-sûdi*). But in the above permitted case also, if it has rained on the body (*bar û vâran vârandeh*), then the body should never be removed to the new tower. If the body has become impure (*اوزه مند* *avizehmand* from a "not" and *viz* or *vizeh* "pure"), then it cannot be removed. What is meant is, that when the body is temporarily placed in the old Tower, it must be placed in a corner on a separate slab and covered over for the time being to keep off rain water falling over it.

The date of this correspondence is not given. Again, it does not appear, whether the question 7. Parsees at Samarkand in or about 1668 A.C. arose independently at Samarkand, from an actual case of the kind mentioned here, or it arose from the question sent from Surat as will be mentioned below. This portion seems to have been taken from the Rivâyat of Bahman Punjiyeh, according to which, the case at Surat happened in about 1037 A.Y. or

lower part (of the teeth)" (Steingass); and in that case, we may take the word in the sense of "bûn" which we read in the question, and take the meaning to be "if the foundation is not finished." I like however to take it, that the 'alif' is written by mistake and cancelled and the word is ر 'rah', in the sense of "whole or total" (Steingass). The meaning then would be "If the Dakhma is not wholly finished." But, when the word occurs again a little lower down (p. 103, l. 5) it occurs as آر 'ar' without the final hê. We read: دځه نواريد. Here, perhaps, we may take the word (from 'awardan' to bring) in the sense of "bringing." With the preceding word 'nao', it may be taken in the sense of 'tajâr' *i.e.*, ready.

1 فراردين is the Persian form of Pahl. فراردين *frarûn*, right, honest, excellent (Viraf-nameh IV, 35).

1668 A.C. Even, if we take it, that the question arose independently among the Zoroastrians of Samarkand, it must not have been of very old date. In that case, we may take it that, as late as the 16th or 17th century, there was a population of some Zoroastrians at Samarkand. We learn from the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-i Airan,¹ that Samarkand was, at one time, a great centre of Zoroastrianism, and that there was a great Fire-temple (Âtash Behrâm) there with a great library, which library I think was that of Sapigân or Shaspigân, one of the two great libraries of ancient Iran.² Ebn Haukal (902-961 A.C.), while speaking of Samarkand, says that, in his time, there were some fire-temples there. He says: "For many legacies and gifts have been appropriated to the buildings about this fountain (سرطان) which are in the charge of Guebres (or Fire-worshippers) who watch winter and summer."³ It seems that this Zoroastrian population there may have continued, though much thinned, upto the 16th century.

The same matter about the holy (sharifa) Dakhma is

8. Another case then referred to on the authority of a letter from Kerman in the matter of disposal, p. 103. The case of Nanabhai Punjeh of Surat. Nanabhai Punjeh,⁴ who is spoken of as holy-souled, paradise-lodged, and of the heavenly threshold, and who had commenced, in his lifetime, a Dakhma, but, not depending much on his life (bar 'umr i'atimâd ne budê), died, before it was completed.

1 Vide my Transliteration and Translation with Notes in my "Aiyadgar-i Zariran, Shatrôihâ-i-Airan va Afîya va Sahigeh-i Seistan," pp. 52-55.

2 Vide my paper on "The Cities of Iran" before the B.B.R.A.S. (Vol. XX, No. 54). Vide my above book, pp. 133-36.

3 Ebn Hekal's Oriental Geography, by Ousley, p. 253.

4 For the genealogy of this personage, vide my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 75-76, note 3. He is an ancestor of the present Modi family of Surat.

He had enjoined in his life that, when the Dakhma was completed, his body and nasâ (kâlbûd va nasâ) may be carried to the honoured (muazma) Dakhma. Some Dasturs and other wise men (buzorgân) consulted among themselves and got the body placed in the old Dakhma for the time being, with stone (slabs) under and over (zirâ va bâlâ) the body, and then, on the completion of the new Dakhma two months after, removed it there. Some objected to this procedure as being against religion (khalâf-i Din). The Dasturs of Kerman, having been appealed to in the matter, decided as follows on the authority of Kitâb-i zand and Kitâb-i behi:

“When the Nasa is placed on a stone slab with a stone above also (zirâ va bâlâ) on a piece of ground which is clean (pâk) and which does not contain the nasâ of somebody else, then two persons (beh-din) may carry to the new Dakhma the body after reciting the bâj in Avesta, and after observing the *sag-dîd* and the *paivand*; and afterwards the two carriers may be purified by a Yaoz-dâthregar Dastur with Bareshnum and Nirang and neh-shuveh (*i.e.*, retreat of nine nights). We hope, that the soul of Nanabhai who was in accord with (or who was a friend بیک of, p. 103, l. 16) the good religion, rests in the Garothmân (paradise) of Ahura Mazda, the Ameshaspands and the Righteous. It is said in the Avesta and Zend of the 19th Chapter of the Vendidad¹:

‘Avi² garô nmânem maethanem Ahurahê Mazdâo, maethanem Ameshanâm³ Spentanâm, maethanem anyae-shâm ashonâm.’ The meaning of this is this: “In the Zend (commentary) of Jud-div dad (Vendidad), it is said that Garosman is the place of Ormazd, the place of Ameshaspandân, the place of those who are righteous. To Nana-

1 Vide S. 32.

2 It is miswritten as “avai”.

3 Miswritten Ameshnâm.

Nanabhai, whom God may pardon, this road, (i.e., road to Garosman) is in front (pish) as to others." As quoted the sense is not complete. The whole passage (s. 32) says: "The souls of the Righteous go before Ahura Mazda, before the Ameshaspands, before the gold-made throne towards the Paradise which is the mansion (nmâna) of Ahura Mazda, the mansion of the Ameshaspands, the mansion of the righteous." The inference drawn from the half-quoted passage is, that, as the late Nanabhai was one of the righteous (ashoân), his soul had the privilege of being, in the mansion of Ahura Mazda and of the Ameshaspentas and so had the privilege of being placed in the new Dakhma. We saw above in the reply of Dastur Farrokhzad to the laymen of Samarkand, that such a removal is justified in the case of those only who are of 'parârin minash' (farârun minash), i.e., are virtuous. So, here, in the case of Nanabhai also, the Dasturs of Kerman hoped, that he was virtuous, and, as such, entitled to be, like all the righteous (ashoân), in the same mansion as Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspands, and thus, he was entitled to have his body removed from the old Tower to the new.

We do not see from the reply that the Dasturs of Kerman condemned the action of the Surat people in so many words, but the inference is that they did condemn it. The purport of their reply, taken in connection with the view of Dastur Farrokhzad, is, that it is only in the case of the righteous few, of whose righteous life you are sure, the final disposal can be postponed till a new Tower is built; and in that case also, what is essential is, that for the time being, till the new Tower is built, the body must be placed on a slab of stone and covered from rain by another slab of stone in a clean (pâk) place where there are no other corpses. Now, as in the case of Nanabhai, his body was not placed on a separate

clean place away* from other nasâ or dead bodies, but was placed in an old Dakhma, where other dead bodies were placed, the inference is, that it was not proper that the body was removed to a new Tower. However, they hoped and prayed, that that procedure did not come in the way of Nanabhai's spiritual good in the next world. As he was a good righteous man, his soul was in the best of all heavens, the *garothmân* where lived Ahura Mazda Himself, His Ameshaspentas and the souls of all the righteous.

Then follows a plan of the Tower. The instructions

9. A Plan of the Tower with some Explanation. p. 104. for the ritual of laying the foundation ceremony and for constructing and consecrating the Tower are given in lines written crosswise in the intervening spaces of the plan. To enable the reader to read them well, I give these instructions here separately, pointing out, by numerals, the space within the plan where they are written. I take the help of the original MU in giving these instructions carefully.

I سوی مشرق در دِخه به این سوی کردن
i.e., The door of the Dakhma shall be made here (facing)
towards the East.

II ازان زمین پایه کنیدن از باندازه دور
i.e., The foundation to be dug from here, in proportion
to the circle (or circumference of the Tower).

III این زمین چبوتره کرد بگرد چبوتره سه شنگ وار بستن
i.e., On this ground, there shall be a round chabutra-
or platform. The chabutra may be built three stone-fold
(sang-vâr).

1 The word *chabutreh* seems to be the same as چوتره *chautara*, "a raised square place." Here it is used in the sense of a "raised platform." The Parsees, even now, speak of it as a چوتره 'chotrâ.'

IV اول بر آن زمین درون پنج تایشتن یکی درون سروش و دیگر درون دادار اورمزد سه دیگر درونی اسفندارمذ امشاسفند و چهارم درونی اردا فروهر و پنجم درونی هفت امشاسفند این درون پنج تایشتن پس بر آن زمین عمارت کنند شاید

i.e., At first they must celebrate on this ground the Darun of *panj tā*¹ (*i.e.*, the Bāj over sacred breads with five wires (*tār*) of Barsam). The first, the Darun of Sarosh; and the second, the Darun of Dadār Auramazd; the third, the Darun of Asfandar Amshaspand, and the fourth Darun of Arda Farohar; and the fifth, the Darun of the Seven (*haft*) Ameshaspands. These Daruns shall be consecrated with five wires. Then if they raise the structure over this ground, it is proper.

V آب ته دخیه را سوراخ یکجای باید در زمین یک نیم گز کندیدن و دو سنگ وار بستن و سنگ ریزه خورد دروی انداختن و چه بچه بمقدار یک گز بهنا کردن و در میخ روزن نشاید

i.e., (For) the water of the bottom of the Dakhma, one shall dig hole in one place in the ground (of the size of about) half a gaz² and to build it of the proportion of two stones. Small pebbles may be thrown in it (*i.e.*, in the conduit of water) and from well (*chah* for *châh*) to

1 This word *tā* is for P. تابی "a thin thread" (Steingass). The priests speak of this as *pānch tāy ni baj*, પાંચ તાએની બાય, *i.e.*, the Baj with 5 wires of Barsam. In sacerdotal phraseology it is corrupted into *pāstā ni baj* પાસ્તાની બાય.

2 "A cubit, a length of 24 finger breadth, or six hands."

well the breadth must be of the size of one gaz and there shall be no holes (rauzaan) in the nails.

و میخ چهار^۱ تا بزرگ هر چهار سوی زدن را و سی
و شش میخ میانه که^۲ در پایه میزنند اشارت آن نموده شد
و میخ دویست و شصت تا که به این اشارت نموده
معلوم میشود

i.e., Large four single nails for the purpose of fixing each on four sides ; and thirty six nails of middle size which are to be struck in the foundation (by which) the boundary or the circumference of the Tower (may be marked).

Large four (4) single nails² for the purpose of fixing (each) on four sides ; and thirty-six³ nails of middle size (miānah) which are to be affixed in the foundation. The marks (isharat) of these are pointed out (in this plan) and two hundred and sixty⁴ single ones as shall be seen as shown in marks in this (plan).

Coming to the third inner circle of the plan, we read the two following statements :

VII این زمین دیوار ته دخیه اما این زمین در چبوتره می آید
i.e., This ground is that for the wall of the inner part (۴) of the Dakhma. But this ground is included in the *chabutrah*.

1 'Ta' single, unit. A Gujarati Rivāyat takes this in the sense of 4 nails out of one maund of iron, *i.e.*, each nail one-fourth of a maund in weight.

2 The place of these four big nails is at the farthest end of the two diametrical cross lines.

3 The positions of the thirty-six nails are marked in the plan by figures.

4 The positions of the 260 small nails are pointed out by the comma like figures on the two crossing lines.

VIII چهار میخ هر سوی زدند. عوازه پایه کنندیدن باید کرد

i.e., For fixing the four nails on (each of the four) sides the (ground) shall be dug corresponding to (ba muwâzana) the foundation.

Then coming to the innermost circle, we read the following:

IX این زمین ته دخیه را و ته دخیه. مقدار چبوتره بالا کردن

i.e., This ground is for the bottom of the Dakhma and the bottom of the Dakhma shall be constructed in proportion to the size of the *chabutrah*.

X ته دخیه که راست می کنند ازان دخیه بیسوم قسمت از

وزن راست کردن

i.e., The inner part of the Dakhma which is constructed shall be constructed in size (or proportion) one third of the whole Dakhma.

What is meant to be said seems to be that the size of the inner part or well shall be one-third of the size of the whole Dakhma.

Then follow the following questions:

10. The Dakhma
and Cultivation
close by. p. 105,
l. 4.

If a tower is situated in the midst of a cultivated field (کشعان) and if the water enters into the measured space (paemâna) of the Tower, should the cultivation be permitted or not? The reply is: If the moisture (nam) from the field does not reach the nasâ, then persons who have turned Jews (muhûd) may be permitted to cultivate (p. 105, l. 4).

This reply is on the authority of the Rivâyât of Kama Bohreh. The Rivâyât of Kaus Kaman also permits this,

but asks one to take care of the ground and water there. They must be kept unpolluted by *nasâ* and *hajri* (هجری).¹

If there is an old *astodân*² (ossuary) over the land of
 11. *As to dâ n.* an alien (*anairan*), i.e., a non-Zoroastrian,
 p. 105, l. 13. and if the alien proprietor refuses to sell
 the field, or to let a wall be built round the *astodân*, and
 if the ground of the *astodân* is under risk of cultivation,
 what is to be done? The reply is: one must appeal to
 the ruler of the land (دست در دامن پادشاه باید زدَن) and get the
 risk averted. But, if the grievance is not attended to by the
 rulers, it is no sin on your part (تو کم گناه تر باشی) p. 105,
 l. 19).

This subject is dealt with on the authority of both, the *Rivâyat* of Kaus Bohra and that of Kaus Kaman. As they dealt with questions from India, it seems, that the Indian Parsees also followed the old Iranian custom of providing *astodâns*, till about 300 years ago. It seems that the custom of having a rough process of *astodâns*, not regularly built *astodâns*, was prevalent here in India till about 60 or 70 years ago. Mr. Khurshetji Rustamji Cama thus wrote in 1866 in his *Jarthoshti Abhyâs*, p. 139:

“ ते छतां ‘अस्तोदान् करवानो वीथार आपण्णु लोकामांथी तदन शुभ थयेवे।

1 There is no word as *hajri* in modern Persian. There is a word *hajr*, which has, among several meanings, one of “leaving, abandoning” (Steingass). So, it may be taken in the sense of “excretion or refuse”. In a similar passage from Kaus Kaman, we find the word *-hakhu* (هخو, p. 106, l. 14) That seems to be the proper correct word. It is *Avesta akhti* or *âhiti*, Pahl. *ahu* or *akhu* آهو, P. 11th.

2 For *Astodâns*, vide my paper on “A Persian Coffin said to be 3000 years old etc.” (*Journal of the Anthropological Society*, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 426-41. Vide my *Anthropological Papers*, Part I, pp. 7-22 and pp. 205-306.)

જણાતો નથી. માહરા શાંભલીઆમાં આવીઈ'છે કે હધ્યાં ધયા ખીજ ગાંમડા-
ઓમાં થોડાંજ વરશોની વાત ઉપર દર છ મહોને ગુજરેલાંઓનાં હાડકાંઓ
એકઠાં કરી એક ભંડારમાં દાટતા હતા..... મારા વીચાર પરમાણે થોડાં વર-
શોની ઉપર ભંડાર કરીને હાડકાંઓ ફાટવાની રસમ આપણામાં હતી તે અસલ
અવસતાના ફરમાન મુજબની હતી અને તે સા સખબ ઉપરથી હમણાં છોડી
દીધાંમા આવીછે તે મહને ખબર પડી નથી”.

Mr. Cama further says (*ibid.* p. 176 note) that the custom prevailed in Persia also upto a few years ago. He says:—

“એક ધરાની જરથોસ્તીથી હેતુ’ સાંભલવામા આવીઈ’ હતું કે તેણે
‘ઈરાનમા કેટલેએક ઠેકાણે જોઈઈ’ હતું કે પાહુડોપર, મોટા ખાડાઓમાં હાડકાં
ભરીને તે ઉપર મજબુતીથી મોટા પથરો ધાંકેલા હતા.’ ધારેઆ મેલે તે હાડકાં
ગરીબોનાં અસતોદાન હશે.”

The next subject is that of taking care of the *nasâ* in

12. To take care of the inside of the Tower (parhikhtan-i nasâ
of Nasâ in the in- side of the Tower. dar sarâdeh yâni andarûn-i dakhmah).
p 107, l. 5.

This ritual is now spoken of as દખમુ’
પરહેજુ’. Some persons, on the occasion of the death in the
family, get the ceremony performed. It consists in getting
a particular ‘pâvi’ (*i.e.*, the portion marked out for each
male, female, or child) cleaned beforehand by the Nasasala-
rars. The ritual at present is as follows: Two Nasasalars
put on a clean suit of clothes, perform the *kusti padyâb*,
recite the Sarosh Bâj upto the word *Ashahê* in the Kem na
Mazda section of the Bâj, hold a paiwand between themselves
and go into the Tower with a bottle of *nirang* or cow’s
urine. They then clean the particular pâvi, where the body
is to be deposited, with *nirang*. They remove from within
the Tower all the torn clothes of the bodies previously laid,
which may be lying there. They then leave the Tower, close
the gate, finish the Bâj, and throw the above torn clothes
into a pit dug and prepared for them, where they are
collected from time to time and destroyed by some acid.
In modern practice, the dog is not taken into the Tower.

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The Rivāyat enjoins the following:— .

- (a) To perform the *Sagdid* of the door (dar) of the Tower.
- (b) To perform the *Sagdid* round all the four sides of the Tower.
- (c) To perform the *Sagdid* within the Tower in all the four directions.
- (d) Then to clean the nasâ in the inside.
- (e) Then the Nasasalar shall come out of the Tower, remove his clothes and tear them off and bury them. He is then to wash his body with pādyāb (*i.e.*, with cow's urine and water) and have a fresh suit of clothes.

(a) All this latter part is to be done by him in the Barashnum-gāh. If a person is killed by a tiger or wolf or such wild animal and the body is found after a month and recognized, it can be deposited even then in the Tower after the proper *Sagdid* and other usual ceremonies.

A few other injunctions about the disposal of the dead. p. 107, l. 8.

(b) The dead body should never be carried to the Tower by a 'kāfar', *i.e.*, a non-Zoroastrian. If the deceased is one's father or grandfather, the children may carry the body, but never non-Zoroastrians.

(c) If a Nasasalar is within the Tower, and after depositing the body, blood passes from a wound in the foot or any other part of the body, or some dirty matter like that oozes, he does not become *riman*, provided, on coming out, he finished the (Sarosh) Bāj which he had half-recited before entering the Tower. If this happens when he has come out of the Tower, he does not become *riman*, but he must not show rashness (daliri, p. 102, l. 18) in such matters. If in such a case the string of the paewand (paewand rismān) which he held breaks and if he has not finished the Bāj and has to speak unavoidably out of fatigue (sardar mandagi)

or out of the turn of anger (دور دزانی)¹ there is no help (na-châr); and so, he shall not be taken as rîman (p. 107, l. 9).

(d) If the nasasalar and hamâlân¹ happen to bleed in the midst of their work, then they may perform ablution (padyâb) with the urine of the cow (gomez-i-gâv), and then have a bath. If the wound is large (ziâdeh) and bleeds for two or three days, then he may be treated like an infected person. He shall have a coremonious bath and keep himself aloof from others. He shall have a separate *kusti* and shoes (kafsh), i.e., a suit of clothes for his meals. He must be so treated until he recovers (p. 108, l. 4).

(e) A nasasalar, when in the Tower, must not speak; if he speaks carelessly or if his paiwand with two colleagues breaks or falls from his hand, he becomes rîman (p. 108, ll. 8-12).

(f) If the Nasasalar has baj in his mouth² (l. 12) and carries the nasâ and suddenly gets fatigued (mandeh), then he may place the body down on the ground and rest at some distance; but he must neither give up the 'paiwand' nor utter any words. If all this happens unintentionally (nâ-danestê, l. 15), he does not become rîman; but if he acted with rashness (daliri) and being careless brought about the fatigue etc., he shall be rîman (l. 16).

1 I am not sure of the meaning of these two words *daur dazani*. *dazh* means anger or bad temper.

1 Hamâ, carrier. Hamâlân are the carriers, now known as 'khandias', i.e., those who carry the body on shoulders (khandh, ખાંધ).

2 Dardahn-i Nasasalar vaj ast. The modern Gujarati wording મોહડાંમાં બાજ છે, i.e., the baj is in the mouth, corresponds to this Persian phraseology. The meaning is, if he has taken the baj etc.,

The Nasasalar must take care that his hands or clothing do not come into direct contact with any open or naked portion of the dead body. If he has come into such a close contact, he shall take the Barashnum. His clothing, in such a case, is no longer fit for any use (a-kâr) (p. 109, ll. 12-19).

Then follows the Dasturi¹ formula which the Nasasalar has to recite, according to the different
 13. The Dasturi. Rivâyats, which differ a little in the
 p. 108. wording, though not in the sense. The
 formula, as given at first from the Rivâyât of Shapur Bharuchi, runs thus:

بدستوری دادار اورمزد بدستوری امشاسفندان و بدستوری
 سروش اشو و بدستوری زراتشت اسفنتمان و بدستوری دستوران
 زمانه که بوده باشد (p. 108, l. 16)

The Rivâyât of Kamdin Shapur adds at this end the following words:

بدهیوودی شاه گشتاسپ دین بده موبدی موبدان زمانه
i.e., (I perform all this ceremony) according to the
 enjoiment of God, according to the enjoiment of the
 Ameshaspands, according to the enjoiment of the Holy
 Sarosh, according to the enjoiment of Zaratusht Asfanta-
 man, and according to the enjoiment of the Dastur
 (High-priest) of the time whoever he may be.

The added words of Kamdin Shapur say: "and by the dehyovadi, *i.e.*, kingship, of King Gushtasp and the dehmobadi² of the Mobads of the time.

1 For Dasturi, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," pp. 64 and 128.

2 Deh-mobad means the priest (Mobad) of the village. It is an office of some position even now at Yazd in Persia.

VIII

THE SAG-DID.

The injunctions about the Sag-did¹ as given in the Rivāyats, are much amplified over and above what we find in the Avesta, where (Vend. VII, 3) it is said that the Druj-i Nasuṣh stops affecting the corpse, when it (the body) is seen or eaten by a dog. The idea seems to be that the sight of the dog prevents further decomposition of the body. The Avesta *vaênaiti* (vin ^{वेने} P. ^{بین} to see) of the above passage has led to the sag-did of the later writings. Among the Pahlavi writings, the Shāyast la Shayast (Chap. II, 10), the Dadistan-i Dini (XVII, 20; XVIII, 2), the Sad-dar (LXX) refer to it. The Rivāyats further amplify the subject.

The following are the various injunctions about the Sag-did in this Rivāyat:

- (a) The sooner the *sagdid* takes place after death the better (cf. Vend. VII, 3) (p. 110, l. 18).
- (b) It is no proper Sagdid if the *nasā* is under water or under glass (*ābgineh*). The body should be all dry before being submitted for 'sagdid' (l. 19).
- (c) If a child while being born (*az mādar juda shavad*) is still (partly) in the womb (*بوره*), i.e., in the *farzandan*¹, when it dies, it is not proper sagdid, if the

1 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 58-61 etc., for the present practice of the Sag-did and for its object.

2 Both the words *بوره* and *farzandan* (lit. the part of the body which holds the child) are meant for the womb of the mother. These words are not used in modern ordinary Persian. On p. 112, l. 6, we find that these two words are taken as equivalents: *در بوره باشد پانی در فرزندان*.

dog is presented in this condition (p. 111, ll. 1-2). If the head and face (سر و روی) are submitted to the sagdid, i.e., seen by the dog, the whole may be taken as properly submitted for sagdid.

We saw above, that the sooner the sagdid is performed the better. So, in case of a child that is being born still, if one hastens to perform the sagdid to the dead child, when the child is not wholly out of the womb, the sagdid can be taken as properly done, if the head and face of the child have come out first. If, as it happens in some cases, the feet and the lower part first get out of the womb, and if they, following the above injunction of performing the sagdid as soon as possible, hasten to perform the sagdid, that is not a proper sagdid (p. 111, l. 2). It is a whole or complete (hama) sagdid even if the dog sees the back (pusht) of the child. But in order that the Nasus may be completely beaten (zanand), the sagdid must be very close, so close that the shadow (سایه) of the dog may fall on the body.

- (d) The greater the number of times the Sagdid is performed the better (p. 111, l. 7.) It may be performed even after the body is deposited in the Tower.¹ In that case, not one but two persons (ham-zôr) must carry the dog in the Tower (dâd-gâh), the *dâityo gâtu* of the Avesta.
- (e) The Rivâyat of Kama Bohra says that the sight of birds like Sâri-gar², black crow (kalâq-i siah) and vulture (kargas), serve the place of the sag-did, but, in that case, the shadow of these flying birds must fall over the body.

¹ In modern practice, the last time it is performed is just at the gate of the Tower, just before being deposited in the Tower.

² I do not know what bird is meant. Perhaps, it is the Pers شار shâr, which is "a certain black bird that talks like a parrot" (Steingass).

- (f) When a pregnant (ābestan) woman who is on 'sarzoki' i.e., on the point (sar) of child birth¹ (zah or zih), dies and only a portion of the child has come out of the womb, then the sagdid must first be performed over the woman and then on the child. When the whole of the child is out of the womb (farzand-dān), then the sagdid shall be performed upon the child. The following, that is said further on p. 111, l. 12, is not very clear.

وگرزنی فرزند زاید سک بد ا جا باید بردن تا مادر و
فرزندان از روی بچه باز کنند و سکدید کنند زیرا که نسا در
فرزندان سکدید نشود

This is from the Rivāyat of Kama Bohreh. The same subject is thus repeated from the Rivāyat of Kaus Kaman (p. 112, l. 2) which seems to give some meaning:

گرزنی مرده ز بد سگرا بد ا جا باید بردن تا مادر روی
فرزند باز کند و سکدید کند

i.e., When a woman gives birth to a dead child, then a dog shall be carried there, so that the mother of the child may open (baz kunad) the face of the child and may perform the sagdid.

The Rivāyat-i Shapur Bharuchi, next quoted, makes the subject more clear when it says (p. 112, l. 8):

تا مادر فرزند از فرزندان روی بچه باز کند . . . زیرا که
نسا در فرزندان سکدید نشود

- (g) When an operation is performed upon one and his hand or foot is cut off and placed aside, then if.

1 In place of sar zah we find the words سر زادن later on, in p. 112, l. 7. These words make the meaning clear.

the person dies, the sagdid shall be performed over the dead person as well as over the separated portions of his body (p. 111, l. 13). The idea seems to be that the severed parts of the body are not taken as *nasâ* as long as the patient is living, but if he dies and his dead body become *nasâ*, the severed parts of the body also shall be taken as *nasâ*; and so, when the sagdid is performed over the dead body, it should also be performed on its severed parts.¹

- (h) (p. 111, l. 15) When a dead body is found fallen reverse or upside down (از ہم بیفتیده)², i.e., with his face down on the ground and the back upward, and, when in that case, they wish the sagdid first to be performed, they may do it. Care must be taken that it is performed completely.

نسای مردگان از ہم بیفتیده و گر خواهد که سکدید
کنند مگر همه سکدید کنند

This subject, as briefly put down from the Rivâyat of Kama Bohrah, is incomplete. But, we further on read

1 In modern practice, this injunction was, at times, by some persons, carried too far. If an operation was performed and a leg was cut off, they carried the leg with well nigh the same formality as a dead body itself, to the Tower. Even the last service of *geh-sarna* was performed over it with the proper sagdid and the leg disposed of in the Tower. I remember being called to the telephone about 7 or 8 years ago by a friend, and asked as the Secretary of the Parsee Panchayet, if it was necessary that the leg of that friend's living wife, which was cut off by the surgeon should have the last funeral ceremony said over it and placed in the Tower. I said, that no funeral ceremony was necessary and that the severed leg may either be buried or disposed of on a *chotra*, an enclosed stone platform at the Tower.

2 The Gujarati Rivâyat speaks of this as આંદમી ઉંધુ પડ્યું હોય (R. J. Dastur's Riv. p. 322).

on the same authority (p. 112, ll. 11-12):

وگر از هم بیفتیده باشد و سگ از هم بیفتیده باشد
چون پشت او سگدیز کنند همه سگدید باشد

i.e., If one has fallen upside down, and if a dog even has fallen upside down, then, if even only the back of the dead body is seen by the dog, that is proper sagdid.

Here a sagdid to the dog also is referred to. This seems to be in accordance with the Vendidad (Chaps. V and VI), wherein it is enjoined that even the dead bodies of dogs shall be disposed of ceremoniously. So, here, it is said that, in the case of a dog also, if it is found fallen upside down and dead and his face is not visible, if his back is seen by another dog it is a proper sagdid.

- (i) When the sagdid is to be performed, the face of the deceased must be wholly uncovered. If it is not so wholly covered, the sagdid must be repeated with the uncovered face; otherwise, it is *margarzân* sin and the body becomes *riman*.

اگر کسی گذشته شود و او را سگدید کنند روی وی در
نباید پوشیدن چه اگر نسا همه پوشند دیگر بار که سگدید باید کرد
و نتوانند کرد و گرسک دید نکنند و بردارند و یا بجنبانند همه
مرکرزان باشند و همه ریمن. (p. 112, l. 12).

Suppose, that the body is ceremoniously shrouded and placed over the slab of stone for the funeral ceremonies, and then it is found, that the face which ought to have been open is covered by a piece of clcth. It would not be proper for somebody to touch the body and remove the covering

from the face. Suppose even it is proper, there is no extra person who can touch the body and remove the cover. On the other hand, if the covering is allowed to remain, then the sagdid is not properly done. What is then to be done? The following procedure is advised :

The point of a needle may be made crooked (کتر کنند) p.112, l. 14), and in the angle (gosheh) of that, the cloth which covers the face of the dead body may be carefully pinned (zanand) in such a way that it (i.e., the needle when moved) may move the cloth over the face. Then a string (rishte) may be tied at the other end of the needle (i.e., the end other than the crooked end which is pinned on the cloth over the face of the dead body) and then the other end of the string may be tied with the neck of a dog. Then a call may be given to the dog (bāng bar sag zanand), so that, when the dog moves the cloth over the face of the dead body the cloth may be pulled or removed by the movement of the dog. Then the cloth being thus removed from the face, the sagdid may be performed. All this shall be done by a person, not alone, but in the company of another colleague (ham-zur). After the sagdid the body may be removed to the Tower.

The subject referred to here, whether the face should be covered or uncovered for the purpose of the sagdid, reminds us of a similar, though not the same, subject that had become a topic of keen controversy and difference among the community at Surat and elsewhere. Even now, some put on, on the face of the dead body, a *padân* (Av. paitidâna) or a mouth-cover and others do not. About 200 years ago,¹ there

2. The Indian question of covering the face of the dead with a *padân*.
 1 Vide K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, B. B. Patel's article, p. 175. Vide my Gujarati History of the Para; Panchayet, Vol. I, pp. 496-505.

was a great dispute at Surat on this subject. They asked the opinion of the Naosari Dasturs who decided in favour of the *padân*. This opinion was not accepted by the majority of the Surat people. Those who were for the *padân* were spoken of as the *padâniyas* (پادانیاس). Those who were in favour of keeping the *padân* were prohibited the use of the Dakhma. So, they had to build a separate Tower for their dead. Before they built their own Tower, they brought down the dead bodies of persons of their views to Naosari for disposal. Nowadays, the difference in the custom still prevails but there is no dispute. People do as they like.

- (i) If a person dies in a desolate place (*bi-âbân*), his body should not be removed from there to be carried to the last resting-place, without a *sagdid* (p. 113, l. 8). The same is the case with one that died on a dyke, dam or mound (*sikr*, l. 11), or in a desert (*sahra*, l. 11). The same is the case with a body that is *shaki*.¹ The questioner means to say that the body having lain in an open desert or desolated place, the 'gumân', i.e., the possible supposition is, that a passing crow or raven may have seen it and the *sagdid* was performed. But the reply does not think it advisable to depend upon mere 'gumân' or supposition, and enjoins, that, unless you are sure of a *sagdid* by a bird, you must wait and get the proper *sagdid* performed before you remove the body from where you see it (p. 113, l. 17).
بی گمان باید و گمانی نباید .

¹ اگر نساء شکمی یعنی بصحرا, i.e., If the dead body is 'shaki' or in a desert. It is not clear what is meant by *shaki*. 'Shak' means 'doubt'. So, perhaps, the questioner means that the bodies of those for whom there is a doubt or supposition (*gumân*), that it was seen by a flying bird.

There are various kinds of dogs and of various colours as mentioned below:

3. The Species of Dogs and Birds used for Sagdid. p. 113, l. 19.

(1) *Bishavar yâni sag-i ramê* (i.e., the dog which watches over the herd)¹.

This Bishavar seems to be the 'pasush-haurva' of the Vendidad (Chap. XIII, 8), which is the dog that takes care of the herd.

(2) *Vish havar yâni sag-i-Khane* (i.e., the dog watching the house). It is the vish-haurva of the Vendidad (*ibid.*).

(3) *Vohu-nazag yâni sag-i garib* (i.e., the foreign or uncommon dog). It is the Vohu-nazga of the Vendidad (XIII, 14) vohuna "blood" and 𐬯𐬀 reduplication of 𐬯𐬀 "to go". It seems to be an unowned vagrant dog going after and living upon corpses.

(4) *Taurûk yâni sag-bache*¹ (i.e., a puppy). It is the Tauruna of the Vendidad (Sans. तर्लु young, XIII, 15).

(5) *Kur Hamzadâr-i nasush*, i.e., the Kûr which strikes or destroys the nasush. It is the Kura of the Avesta (Westergaard Fragment II, 2). Dr. Mills takes the words "gadhwa kura" in Westergaard's fragment as "dog Kura" and takes kura to be a species of dogs (S.B.E., Vol. XXXI, p. 389)².

Then the Rivâyat adds that if the Nasâ is under water or under glass (âb-gina) or even if any part of it, as nails, is covered, then there would be no sagdid even if the whole of the shadow of the above words fall over it. The birds which devour the flesh are spoken of as zadâr-

1 In another place (p. 114, l. 5) it is spoken of as 'sag-i-shabâni' (of shepherds).

2 Vide for this fragment my paper entitled "An Avesta Amulet for contracting friendship" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. V, pp. 417-25. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 131-139).

nasash (زدارنش), i.e., striker or destroyer of Nasush (p. 114, l. 1). In another place (p. 114, l. 6), it is spoken of as زداگر zadāgar.

If there is puzeh (پوزه or پوز) over the body then only there will be a proper Sagdid. 4. The Puzeh required for a Sagdid. p. 114, l. 6 If the puzeh is over the hair or nails then the sight of these dogs would not be a proper Sagdid. The birds Sari, black crow and vulture also can serve for sagdid, but, in their case, their whole shadow must fall over the whole nâsa (p. 114, l. 1), not simply over any of its parts as hair or nails. It is added that these all are the destroyers of Nasash (زدارنش) (پوزه or پوز) at that time only when they put puzeh over the nasâ (vide also p. 13, l. 19). Now what is this puzeh? According to Steingass, puza is "the parts round the mouth" and puzah (پوزه) is thigh. This injunction is repeated on the authority of another Rivāyat (p. 114, l. 6). It seems that this is an allusion to some old custom the significance of which is not clear.

According to the Rivāyat, a dog is required for sagdid, both, for the nasâ or dead body and for the Bareshnum which is a purification ceremony for purifying a man who has come into contact with nasâ or dead body. 5. The Sex and the Kind of the Dog required for the Sagdid of the dead and for the Bareshnum. p. 114. The 9th chapter of the Vendidad which treats of the Bareshnum does not speak of the use of a dog in the ceremonies but its Pahlavi commentary does allude to it. We read there: *Amat min magh gan magh vazlund ayokbâr kalbâ vakhduniyen*,² i.e., "When they (i.e., the

1 In another place (*ibid.*) it is spoken of as khurd (i.e., small) sag

2 Pahlavi Vendidad IX, 32. Dastur Darab Sanjana's Text, p. 186, l. 6. S.B.E., XVIII, p. 450.

nesticating death, they were considered to be fitting dogs for sagdid on occasions of death (*Vide* my Book of Travels (ભારી મુ'મઈ બંદારની સહેલા) Letter dated Urumiah, 9th October 1925, pp. 299-300).

In case the nasâ is lying in a dark hole or pit, 6. The help of where the sagdid cannot properly be even non-Zoroastrians may be performed, it is enjoined, that two non-sought in case of Zoroastrians (dô an-irân, lit. non-Iranians) necessity. p. 115, may be asked to go down in this dark l. 2. place and get the sagdid performed. A modern Parsee may be startled with this injunction, that, in case of necessity, even non-Zoroastrians (spoken of as Durwands દુરવંદ by the Gujarati Rivâyat, p. 326, l. 8) may be asked to help. The idea seems to be, that it is risky, at least, from the health point of view, for a Zoroastrian to go down into a dark unventilated place where the dead decomposing body is lying. So, instead of risking the life of a faithful, an alien may be asked to do the risky work.¹

In this connection, it must be remembered that some of the injunctions of the Rivâyat, and even those of the Vendidad and the Pahlavi books, appear wearisome and intricate; but, it appears that, in dictating most of them, the spirit of the Pahlavi proverb "châreh' tokhshâk a-châreh' khursandih", i.e., "try your best to observe (the original), but if you are helpless, remain contented (with what little you can do)."

1 We have in the Vendidad (ch. VII, 36 *et seq.*) another instance of this kind. A candidate for the work of surgery, had, after learning his work, to operate, at first, not upon a Mazdayasnân but upon a Daevayasnân. If the patient died he was allowed to operate upon another. If he failed, then upon a third. If he failed even then, then he was disqualified and not permitted or certified to practise as a surgeon. The life of a Mazdayasnân was held to be more valuable than that of a Daevayasnân.

IX

SOME INJUNCTIONS ABOUT THE REMOVAL
OF THE NASÂ TO THE DAKHMA (p. 115).

The following are some injunctions about the removal of the nasâ or the dead body to the Tower (p. 115, l. 11):

- (1) When carrying the body to the Dakhma, the head must be in the direction of the Dakhma.
- (2) When being carried, the whole body must be covered.
- (3) Two dead bodies shall not be carried together (at the same time) by the same persons (p. 115, l. 12).
- (4) Then follows the following information saying that there must be two or a pair for carrying the body:

و مردم آئی و سک آئی شاید که برند و مردم آئی و حجه
آئی شاید که برند و دو سک و یا دو حجه و یاسکی و حجه شاید
که برند

Here there are several words which give us a little trouble to understand. The word آئی is not found in Persian Dictionaries. But it seems to be the Persian rendering of Pahl. aê 𐭠𐭥 or 𐭠𐭥𐭥 which is also read 'khad' by some. It means 'one' or 'single' and may be taken to be the same as Avesta aêva 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀. The word حجه is not intelligible. It may be another form of P. اجر ajir, labourer.

The injunction seems to be about the 'hamzur', i.e., the forming of a pair to carry the dead body, which must never be carried by one person alone. If two persons are not available, a pair may be formed by the following:

(a) One man (mardum aê) and one dog (sag aê) or (b) by one man and one 'haje', or (c) by two dogs or (d) by two 'hajès' or (e) by one dog and one 'haje'. Anyhow one pair

1 Vide the Glossary of Ardai Viraf by Hosbangji-Haug, pp. 63-64.

must be formed. (f) A man and a woman. (g) Two women. But later on (p. 117, l. 19), on the authority of the Rivayat of Shapur Bharuchi, this is prohibited. There we read:

بدو مرد شاید و هرگاه زن دو باشد نشاید و بیم باشد

Even if the two women are in menses they will do. This may shock a modern Parsee, because, women in menses are not even allowed to see a dead body. According to the present practice, a short time, after the death, a woman in menses, however closely connected she be to the deceased, has to be away from where the dead body is placed and should not see it.

Even two women who are vadyâb (وادیاب) can carry the body. As to the word, 'vadyâb' it may be the opposite of 'padyâb' (ceremonially pure). We have a word a-padyâbi (وادیابی Vend. VIII, 3) for uncleanness, which can be read 'a-vadyâbi', and perhaps the 'a' of the negative is then dropped. Steingass gives "killed or reduced to nothing" as the meaning of Pers. This sense seems to be supported somewhat by what is said on this subject, later on (p. 116, l. 12) when we read:

و دو زن دشتان شاید و دو زن نسحت یعنی زنی که کودک

مهرده زاده باشد که نسا برند

i.e., two women in menses can do and two *nasahat* women, i.e., women who have given birth to still-born children, may carry the *rasâ*. The word *nasahat* would not have been intelligible had its meaning not been given by its side, because we do not find it used in Persian. I think we may derive it from 'nas' or 'nasâ', i.e., one who has temporarily become *nasâ* by giving birth to still-born children. Later on, when the Rivayat of Kaus Kaman is quoted the word is given as نسی 'nushi' (p. 116, l. 17).

Again, when later on, the same subject is treated of on the authority of Kaus Kamdin (p. 117, l. 14), the wording is:

دو زن بسر یعنی دو زن کودک مرده

Here the word is 'basar', which according to Steingass, means "doing anything prematurely" (*vide* f. 85b, l. 15 of the original MU).

(h) Two children, aged eight, can do, if they know the rules and regulations about the proper management of hijr and nasâ (ہجر و نسا). 'Hijr' seems to be the same as Av. hikhra (the hehr of the Patet) which is used for dry nasâ like hair and nails. (i) A man and a child.

- (5) The nasâ should not be carried at night.
- (6) It shall not be carried on a camel except under unavoidable circumstances (nâ-chari).
- (7) It is a margarzân sin to carry nasâ to the Tower when it is raining.

The next quoted Rivâyat of Kama Bohra (p. 116, l. 8), adds that if there is no help these three things may be done.

- (8) (a) If they remove the body when it is not raining, and then it rains, the body shall never be brought back to the house. (b) If on the road they find a covered (nihufta) place, or a pishdari (*i.e.*, a portico) or a panahi (*i.e.*, a protected or covered place), where there is no fear or risk, the body may be placed there, until the rain ceases. (c) But if there be any risk or danger, then the body should be carried to the Tower even if it is raining (p. 115, l. 17, and p. 116, l. 4). (d) If there is any risk or danger when the body is taken out of the house and if there is no place of shelter (nihufti) when it suddenly rains, then they shall put a curtain or blanket (pardeh yâ galini) over the body and take it to the

Dakhma (dād-gah). Several persons may join together (ham-band shavand) and some may hold the corners of the blanket together and others may dry the place and then place the body there.

This injunction is not clear and seems to mean that if the body has unavoidably to be carried to the Tower when when it is raining, then they may cover it with something like a blanket, and then going to the Tower some must brush the ground dry before placing the body there. They all must wash themselves and also their clothes and blankets with *pad-yāb* and water.

(9) The *nasā* of two dogs shall not be deposited together in one place. The *nasā* of a man and of a dog is similar (*nasa-i mardum va yaki sag barābar*) So, just as two men cannot be deposited together in one place (or to speak in modern phraseology pertaining to a *dakhma*, in one 'pavi'), two dogs also cannot be placed together.

(10) When they lift up the body, one of their hands shall be on the body (p. 116, l. 10).

(11) When they carry the body to the *Dakhma* (dād-gah), they must pay homage to its head, *i.e.*, make a bow, *ساوند کاهى* *Saun* in Persian means "praise". So, I take it that what is meant is that the last homage may be paid to the dead; or perhaps what is meant is this: At the end (sar) of the whole ceremony they may praise (*saun kunand*) the *Dakhma*. The modern practice is that at the close of the ceremony, after the body is deposited in the Tower, all the mourners who have accompanied the body recite what is called *Dakhman ni nemaz*, *i.e.*, the prayer of homage to the

Tower. So it is probable that it is this prayer that is referred to (p. 116, l. 13).

But further on, when some of the above matter is referred to on the authority of *Rivāyat-i Kaus Kaman*, the wording of the sentences (p. 116 باید که سرم و دخمه سو کنند). The word here is not سون but 'su', *i.e.*, direction or side. So, what is meant is that when the body is carried to the Tower its head must be in the direction of the *dakhma*. So, it seems that the first word 'saun' may have been miswritten for سو su.

The same subject when written for the third time (p. 117, l. 1) reads:

سر نسا بسوی دخمه باید کرد

This wording makes the subject more clear.

RECENT IRANIAN RESEARCHES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS—IV.

Reviewed by

DR. J. C. TAVADIA, B.A., PH.D.

Lecturer in the University of Hamburg.

Hertel, Johannes: Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awestas und des Vedas. Leipzig, S. Hirzel. 1929 (p. XXIX, 284) 4^o.

This great work is divided into five parts, all of which deal with matters of supreme importance. It will not be possible to do sufficient justice to all of its contents, but a mere mention thereof will give some idea of the nature and scope of the work. We shall also quote the views of the author, wherever it can be done in brief. In the Foreword to the work Prof. Hertel emphasises the close relation between the Vedas and the Avesta, and inter alia criticises Dr. Wüst's article on the age of the R̥gveda in WZKM 34. The first part contains an exhaustive study on one of the most sacred formulas of the Parsis, the Ašəm Vohū, and on its commentary (Yasna 20). Besides a full discussion on the etymological meaning of aša- ("light, glow" from ~~ar-~~ the numerous derivatives, of which are here recorded) the author shows the interesting definition of the term from the Avesta itself, viz. Yasna 37,4 and 27,14 which contains the formula.

THE NEW TRANSLATION OF AŠƏM VOHŪ.

It is generally admitted that this small piece is not yet satisfactorily translated. All the attempts show one

defect or another. This is due to the fact that *vohu-*, *vahu-* was taken in the later and developed sense of 'good' instead of the original one 'bright, light, shining' and 'brightness, light', which are so common in the Vedas for *vasu-* (see *Arische Feuerlehre I=Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen VI* p. 115 ff. where the author has dealt with this pair). By adopting this meaning we can translate the first verse as follows: "*aša-* is the lightest light"; and see at the same time the definition of *aša-*. Now the lightest or highest light is the 'light-of-bliss', and Prof. Hertel has selected this as the specific meaning of *aša-*. This idea recurs in a somewhat detailed form in Yasna 37,4:

<i>ašəm at vahištəm</i>	<i>yazamaide,</i>
<i>yat srayištəm,</i>	<i>yat spentəm, aməšəm,</i>
<i>yat raočahvat,</i>	<i>iyat vīspā vahū.</i>

"Then we offer for us to the lightest light-of-bliss, which is the most shining, which is filled with light of heaven (and) immortal, which is endowed with light (of heaven), which is all lights."

It will be observed that Prof. Hertel has given quite a different sense to *spənta-*, to which is devoted a long study in the third part of the present work.

Let us return to the *Ašəm Vohū* formula in the third verse of which the author has made an ingenious emendation: *hyāt* instead of *hyat*. This mistake of exchanging *a* and *ā* is very common, although it is strange that it has occurred in a case like the present one. Moreover, the formula is said to contain three statements according to its commentary Yasna 20,3; and this is possible only when we accept the suggested change for *hyat*, the Gōthic spelling of *yat*, which does not suit the context. As to the form and the language of the piece, Prof. Hertel rejects the metrical division proposed by Bartholomae, and further shows that the language is not

Gāōic but that of the Later Avesta. His new translation runs thus :

“ The light-of-bliss is the lightest light.

According to wish it is, according to wish it exists for us.

May the light-of-bliss become (=turn) into the lightest light-of-bliss.”

The first verse, as already mentioned, gives the definition of *aša*-. The second declares against the skeptics that it exists, and against the Daeva-worshippers that it belongs to the Mazdāh-worshippers. The third verse contains the wish that the light-of-bliss may become the means of transporting its possessors into its brightest form i.e. in the purest fire of heaven. By accepting *hyat* as *yat* and taking it as a conjunction the author had on a former occasion rendered the third verse thus: “because (or: so that) the light-of-bliss is for the lightest light-of-bliss” i.e. it leads to the lightest light-of-bliss. Thus also, the same idea remains; but Prof. Hertel has made the emendation especially to avoid the addition of the verb. Just as this version brings out the true significance of the sacred text, so does that of Yasna 20 which is in metrical form, and which helps us to interpret the former. If desired, this text and translation will also be made accessible to our readers.

The second part of the work is devoted to ascertaining the meaning of Vedic *arāmati*- and Avestan *āramatti*-. These terms are derived from one and the same root *ram*- ‘to rest’, but different prefixes have given to them not only different but opposite meanings. The Vedic term signifies nomadic life whereas the Avestan one settled life. All the passages and sometimes the whole texts (for instance Yasna 12) where these terms occur are thoroughly

examined, whereby additional light is thrown on other matters also. The same method is applied for determining the signification of *spənta-* and *saošyant-* and other related terms. The former means 'possessing the light of heaven (or the light-of-bliss)'; its Pahlavi equivalent *awšūn* 'increase' is a free but correct translation, since it is through the said fire or light that increase and prosperity are attained, whereas the literal meaning is still better preserved in the Modern Persian derivative *sipand*. As to *saošyant-*, Prof. Hertel shows that it is not to be derived from *sav-* 'to benefit' but from *sav-* 'to irradiate, to glow', and that it means 'he who will change the world into the fire of heaven'. This is the original Gāthic signification; it agrees with the Avestan conception of the world exposed by the author in what he calls the Feuerlehre, as well as with the whole Iranian account of the final renovation of the world. This latter is called *frašo-karəti-* which too means 'the radiant making'.

In the fourth part is settled the text of the third Yašt which is in metrical form though in incorrect grammar. Its subject-matter is exorcism against diseases and against the Daevic Fire Druj-, the opponent of Aša-. Hence its inclusion in the present work. Its new translation with philological and explanatory notes is followed by a study on the Yenghē Hātqm. In the fifth and last part is given the translation of the three chapters from the author's unpublished work on the Gāthās. They are Yasna 32 in which are found the causes of Zoroaster's enmity towards the Daevas, Yasna 43 which contains his revelation, and Yasna 44 in which he puts questions to Ahura Mazda. At the end are given indexes of passages, words, and subject-matter. This will prove a very useful guide to the precious treasure scattered throughout the whole work for which our best thanks are due to Prof. Hertel.

Smith, Maria Wilkens: *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra together with Text, Translation, and Notes.* Philadelphia 1929. Linguistic Society of America (p. 160) 8°.

This excellent work being in English does not require a detailed review, which is moreover given elsewhere. It is enough to note that Miss Smith tackles those problems of the Gāthic syntax that affect the most fundamental teachings of the prophet, and consequently their solution sheds a flood of light on them. The questions are 1. whether the oft occurring instrumental of *mazdāh-*, *aša-*, *vohu-manah-* etc. is a real instrumental or some other case like nominative and vocative; and 2. why there are plural verbs agreeing with the word indicating Ahura. A statistical investigation has shown that 1. the instrumental is always a real instrumental, most frequently denoting means; and 2. the verbs are in the plural when, and only when, Ahura either acts or is approached under two or more of the five aspects. A subsidiary conclusion has been arrived at that the vocative regularly stands at the end of the *pāda*. It should be observed that *mazdāh-*, *aša-* etc. are taken as aspects or qualities of Ahura for taking their instrumental forms as denoting means. That *mazdāh-* has been taken as an aspect-term and not as a proper name is due to the fact that thus only are explained many plurals which would otherwise be singular. On the other hand, *haurvatāt-* and *amərətāt-* are excluded from the list of the aspect terms (i.e. they are not Ahura's qualities, but mere blessings given to man by him); because their absence or presence does not affect the number agreements, nor do they occur in the instrumental form.

There can be no gainsaying about these facts and figures; and therefore it is no longer certain that seven

was the original number of the Aməša Spəntas. On the contrary, we find here a proof for Reitzenstein's hypothesis about five being the original number based on Manichean and other statements (see his article "Mani und Zarathustra" in *Nachrichten der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 1922, p. 249 ff.). In any case, here is one more point of difference between the Gāthās and the Later Avesta: it may be due to later misinterpretation or to diverse traditions current in the different parts of the country. Then the position assigned to *mazdāh-*, which is superior in certain respects to that of the other aspect terms, but fundamentally is the same, leads to conclusions of supreme importance. If Zarathustra did not use it as a proper noun, how are we to explain its use in the Later Avesta and in the Old Persian Inscriptions, either as a misunderstanding or as a process of time? We have to admit the former, if we are to agree with Profs. Hertel and Herzfeld in their identification of the father of Darius the Great with the patron of the prophet. In any case, Miss Smith's view about *mazdāh-* is supported by the last main result of her studies, namely, the vocative can occur only at the end of the *pāda*. On the other hand, the term, unlike the other aspect-names, is used also as an epithet of Ahura, which fact explains its later application.

The text and translation will be welcome to the general reader also. Miss Smith has naturally followed Bartholomae, but she has not neglected the researches of others, Hertel alone excepted. The main difference, however, is due to the application of the conclusions arrived at in the syntactic studies. The work can easily be considered as one of the standard authorities on the Gāthās, and we are really grateful to the young scholar for it.

Schwyzér, Eduard: Die sog(enannte) missbräuchlichen Instrumentale im Awesta. Reprint from Indogermanische Forschungen XLVII. 3. Berlin 1929.

In this essay Prof. Schwyzér deals with one of the questions treated by Miss Smith, viz., the use or the mis-use of the instrumental form, but he includes also the Later Avesta where it is used even for the accusative besides the nominative and the vocative. His method too is different, which fact enhances the value of their common results. He shows that as a rule the instrumental forms are not to be taken as expressing the vocative but the comitative force (Miss Smith says means), because in some cases they are accompanied by the participle *hačimna-* 'following, i.e. with', see Yasna 44.10; 43.12. As to the use of the instrumental for the nominative or subject-case, Prof. Schwyzér adopts and develops the view of the Danish scholar Pedersen who pointed out the same phenomenon from modern Russian. It occurs mostly with transitive verbs, seldom with intransitive verbs. The author further shows that in all these cases the subject-instrumental occurs immediately before the verb; and what is more important is this that the words in question never occur as nominative-subject in verb sentences, whereas they are not seldom in noun sentences.

In the Later Avesta the subject assumes quite a different picture. Excepting some reminiscences of the Gāthic usage there are no real parallels here. On the contrary, it contains many nom.-acc. with *-āiš*. Prof. Schwyzér ingeniously shows that this *-āiš* is not at all the instrumental suffix, but a shortened form of the gen. pl. *-aišam*, and its nom.-acc. use is to be explained as partitive gen. and from the Middle Iranian language where *-ān*, also a shortened form of the gen. pl. *-ānām*, is the general pl. suf. Then *-biš* too was used after the analogy of *-āiš*. Thus we have

some new light on the much discussed question, which also shows how the Gāthās and the Later Avesta differ about it as in so many respects. In this useful investigation there naturally occur additional comments on some passages and words, but these must be left untouched.

Scheftelowitz, I.: Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer. 1929 (p. 58) 4°.

This booklet contains a concise and clear account of Time as the god of destiny in the Indian and the Iranian religion from the pen of Prof. Scheftelowitz. This question has often been discussed at least as regards the Iranian side, but it was Prof. Junker's study *Ueber iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung* (an abstract of which was given by us in No. 5 of the journal) that has put it in the forefront again, and about half a dozen scholars have busied themselves with it. The Gāthic reference (Yasna 30. 3) to the two Spirits being a twin has been taken by some of them as an evidence for the existence of the Zurvanite idea in those and even earlier days. Now Prof. Scheftelowitz refutes this argument. He shows that even in India Time (*kāla-*) as the god of destiny is a later speculation connected with astrology. Moreover, it has nothing in common with the Iranian *zruvan*. (Hence it is not necessary to give details from the Indian part of the work in this place; we have done it elsewhere.)

The Iranian *zruvan* plays an important role in later writings only. The term does not at all occur in the Gāthās; and in the Later Avesta it is merely mentioned along with some heavenly bodies. It is in some of the Middle Persian books and in the Šāhnāma that Time occurs as the god of destiny, and that too in connection with the planets. According to the author a Manichean fragment, treated by him in the *Oriens Christianus*, 3 Series 1. 279 ff. and in

the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4. 317 ff., shows that Zurvanism owes its origin to the influence of astrology. Passages bearing on the subject are quoted and discussed at some length by Prof. Scheftelowitz who often gives a different interpretation to them. I believe a dispassionate study of the sources is still a desideratum. The present writer has dealt with the related subject of Fate and Freewill in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 8. 119 ff., where the following passages are discussed: 1. Dēnkart 3. 174, (2. Škand-vimānīk-vičār 11 280 f. 15. 77-84), 3. The Letter of Tansar, 4. Ayātkār i Vazurk-mihr 105-109, 5. Pahlavi Vidēvdāt 5.9 (33) commentary, 6. Dāstān i Mēnūk i xrat 22 (23, 24), 7. Škand-vimānīk-vičār 6, l. ff. And he hopes to take up the *žamān-zurvān* passages also. The booklet, in short, shows us the other side of the question, and hence its importance.

Morgenstierne, Georg: Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages. Vol. I. Parachi and Ormuri. Oslo, H. Aschehøng & Co. 1929 (p. 418) large 8°.

Prof. Morgenstierne gave us some information about a number of Indo-Iranian dialects in his Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan. Now in the present work he fully treats two of them, Parachi and Ormuri both of which are Iranian. We knew nothing of the former but its name, whereas the latter was not so unknown, and even its detailed account was made available by Grierson in 1918. But Morgenstierne's materials have brought to light a varied form of Ormuri. The position of the two dialects in the Iranian family has been discussed in the introductions. As to Parachi, the author is of the opinion that the points of agreement found especially in the vocabulary with E. Iranian dialects may be due to the protracted contact with them. But the agreements with the W. (especially N.W.) Iranian dialects are essential and date from a very early time. Ormuri too shows western charac-

teristics, but not to the same extent as the other. Moreover, these characteristics are not Kurdish as believed by Dr. Grierson and Prof. Junker owing to a certain tradition about the origin of the people. As to its eastern traits, Ormuri shows a very powerful influence of Pashtu, and that too of older Pashtu, i.e. from a very early date. The grammar, collected texts together with their translation, and vocabulary of each of the dialects follow the introductions. Parachi texts are very extensive and include also some poems and songs. The stories will be useful from the standpoint of comparative folklore as well. For instance, the Ormuri story V. is known in Gujarat, of course with Hindu names and Hindu traits.

The work being in English I need not give any details from the two dialects. I may, however, note that some of the Persian loan words will not be found in ordinary dictionaries, since they are common only in Eastern parts like Afghanistan and since they have come under the phonetical influence of the dialects in question.

We eagerly await such monographs on other Indo-Iranian frontier languages which the author has so meritoriously made his special field of research,

Nyberg, H. S. : Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi I Texte und Index der Pehlavi-Wörter (p. 79 and 89), II Glossar (p. XXI, 302). Uppsala 1928, 1931.

The review of this useful work for the study of Pahlavi was purposely postponed, for the second part was soon expected and it was proposed to notice them together. The first part gives the following selections : *Kār-nāmak* 1-3 (*Sanjanā's* chapters), *Pand-Nāmak* i *Zartušt*, *Mēnuk i xrat* 2, 37, 44, 57, 43 (the author writes *Mēnōkē*, but although I myself believe that the adj. *mēnōk* alone was common in Mid. Pers., its use was not restricted to 'spiritual'; it was applied to 'spiritual world

spiritual being, etc.' In other words, the adj. was used as a noun. And therefore we may leave the *izāfat*) and Great Bundahišn 1, with variants, etc. The texts are lithographed, for the types available in Europe are not good. It may be noted that Prof. Nyberg omits the new Bombay types (whereby he means, we suppose, the types prepared by the late Mr. T. D. Anklesaria for his Fort Printing Press) from this charge. The Pahlavi words are indexed with their reading and in the case of ideograms with their Hebrew transcription also, which latter coming as they do from a Semitic scholar like the author are especially important. For his readings, some of which are corrected in the second part, the Glossary gives further explanation. The introduction contains a brief account of the script and a note on the reading of verb-ideograms.

The second part, the Glossary, does not merely give the meanings of words, but also the references where they occur. Moreover, the whole clauses or sentences are quoted with their translation for the sake of clearness. Etymologies are everywhere given. At the end are found several indexes. In short, Prof. Nyberg has spared no pains to make this work as complete and useful as possible. Of course, it goes without saying that everything therein cannot be free from mistake,—the author himself does not claim it,—but it is not our intention to enter into any details. I am however obliged to repeat those that I have mentioned in my German review of the first part (in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 7, 273 ff.) together with Prof. Nyberg's reply to them, because my attention has been drawn to a misleading reference in some Bombay papers to this so-called controversy.

I say in the said review that Kn. 1. 11 *han sitikar šap* is correct: "in the other, third night"; cf. *han šap* "in the other night" in 10. We cannot read the first word *pas* 'then' for which 𐭯𐭥 only is written, never 𐭯𐭥𐭥. To this

Prof. Nyberg replies that in the inscriptions this word is so written that we can expect the other also. But let it be remembered that the inscriptions are not precise and consequent in the use of 2 (=) and 3 (=), but in the Books we never find their use in one and the same word, the only exception being the ideogram of *guftan* which is written both ways *𐭪𐭫𐭮* and *𐭪𐭫𐭮*. (It may also be added that we have the rare letter 𐭪 for 𐭫 in 𐭪𐭫𐭮, which will be adhered to more rigorously.) For 1. 18, 20 Prof. Nyberg agrees with me in the main points. Then I give some examples from Mx. In 2. 6: *bavišn* (𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮) should be changed into *bāš* (𐭪𐭫𐭮) by removing the last *-nn*, which the Paz. and also the parallel passages give. But Prof. Nyberg considers *bavišn* a difficult reading and therefore the original one. Now as to the former statement, it should be remembered that the verb forms with *-išn* 'one should.....' or 'it is to be.....' are quite common, and they are correctly transliterated in the Paz. also, see e.g. Mx. 1. 20, 23, 24—here even *bavišn*, so also in 39. 41, 53. 6—here the original Pahlavi has *būtan* (in K *būt* by mistake), for both forms have the same meaning.

There is no reason why the Paz. should not give it in 2. 6 if it was found in the Pahl. ms. or mss. used on the occasion. On the other hand, the clerical mistake in the extant mss. can be accounted for by the preceding *-išn* in *rast-gōwišn*. Secondly, even if we grant that *bavišn* is more difficult than *bāš*, it is not necessarily certain that the former is the original and correct reading. (When Prof. Nyberg complains about Parsi editions he does not mean to say, we hope, and that this or for the matter of that any so-called rule is to be blindly applied irrespective of other considerations.) Then in 2. 15, 26 there occurs *apāmičak* (𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮) which I took to be a clerical mistake or fashion for *apēmīčak* (𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮); Prof. Nyberg justifies *apā-*

because of the parallel occurrence $\bar{a} : \bar{e}$ in certain words. But it is doubtful whether this can be applied here. As to 2. 33, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 is changed by the author into 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, but it must be 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, because the latter is used in the sin in question, viz. *drāyān-žōyišnīh*, for further details about which I have referred to my *Šāyast-nē-šāyast* 5. 1. Nothing is said about this point, and the whole term is explained differently in the Glossary, p. 58. Lastly in 2. 37 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 of the ms. is changed into 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 and read *hamōk*. This I have declared wrong, because the original word can be read *ēmōk*, and elsewhere the term occurs as *ēvmōk* (see Śnš 4. 12). Prof. Nyberg justifies his reading by saying that *ha-* too means 'one'; but he does not say why he has changed the original when it is not wrong. Furthermore, I raised some questions as to his novel suggestion about the endings 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, but there is no direct reply to them, and hence I need not repeat them. Moreover, this important point requires a thorough examination. Thus far for our so-called controversy. In the end, I may repeat from the same aforesaid review, that we are grateful to the author for his laborious and suggestive work, and add that our gratitude is far more increased through his second part which gives his interpretation of the texts with all sorts of details as we have already mentioned. Only one must be careful in accepting his novel views.

Benveniste, E. : *Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne*.
 Deuxième Partie; Morphologie, Syntax et Glossaire.
 Paris, Paul Geuthner. 1929 (p. III, 239) 8°.

This pioneer work requires only a short notice. It is pioneer, for we have here for the first time a complete and detailed grammar of the Sogdian language with examples from and references to the texts. Its first part was prepared by that eminent Iranist the late Robert

Gauthiot. But except the chapter on verb nothing remained of his second part, it being burnt in Louvain during the Great War. The work was then entrusted to Prof. Benveniste who has successfully executed it. It was finished some years ago, and therefore the more recent studies and materials have not been fully taken into account, especially in the chapter on verb. In any case, we have to judge and appreciate it as a pioneer attempt. The nature of the work does not allow us to treat it in the same manner as we have done the others. It is enough to note that the grammatical structure of the Sogdian language is not so simple as that of the sister tongue of western Iran, viz., Middle Persian or Pahlavi. Both declension and conjugation are rich in forms which in their turn require explanation. This fact enhances the value of Sogdian from the standpoint of comparative philology, especially with reference to other Iranian languages, old and new. Its study is no doubt essential; and the present work, for which we are so grateful to its author, is sure to facilitate and further it. Not only Iranists but also Indianists and others will find it interesting because of the varied character of the literary remains, Buddhist, Manichean, Christian, etc., that have been discovered. Prof. Benveniste has added a glossary of Sogdian words from both the parts; we should have had an index of other words too, for his work will be referred to for non-Sogdian matters also.

Benveniste, Emile: *The Persian Religion according to the chief Greek Texts*. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1929. (p. 119) 8°.

This booklet contains the four lectures that the author delivered in 1926 at the University of Paris for the Ratanbai Katrak Lecture Fund. Prof. Benveniste has gleaned out quite novel facts from the otherwise known sources. I shall simply quote his main conclusions rather than repeat

what I have said in my detailed critical review to be published in the *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*. "The Person of Zoroaster and the teaching of the Magi exercised over Greek ideas an influence which was real, though difficult to measure. Later the Hellenistic conception of the Aion shows the elaborate result of a much more ancient spiritual contact. But it does not follow that the Greeks knew a *single* form of Persian religion. The method which we have adopted has brought out the differences between the ancient nature religion which gradually evolved and which is described by Herodotus; the degenerate Mazdeism which Strabo observed; and the Zervanism which Plutarch knew through Theopompus and perhaps through Eudemus, each of these religions belonging to a different period and perhaps to a different region." As to the author's view on Plutarch's account, see his article "Un Rite Zervanite chez Plutarque" in *Journal Asiatique* 1929, which, if desired, may be noticed on the next occasion.

Christensen, Arthur: *Contributions a la Dialectologie Iranienne*. Copenhagen: Host & Son, 1930.
(p. 300) 8°.

The materials of this volume were collected by Prof. Christensen during his second visit to Persia in 1929. They mainly deal with the Gilaki dialect of Rasht and with the dialects of Farizand, Yaran, and Natanz. In the supplement or appendix are given some stories in the *bāzārī* or vulgar Persian of Teheran, (those given by Masse in JA. are in that of Mashhad as the reciter originally hailed from this city), whereas the introduction touches upon Iranian dialects in general, contains a bibliography on them since the publication of the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, and deals with his own and the former accounts of the dialects in question. The main object of the author was to study the little known Gilaki Rasht of

and Natanzi, but while gathering information from several Natanzis at Teheran, he found out that their speech differed from one another according to their native-place. Hence he gives the name Farizandi to the dialect of a Natanzi hailing from Farizand, and Yarani to another for the similar reason. The former dialect is very important inasmuch as it has preserved many an ancient and characteristic trait lost in the ordinary Natanzi. The main differences between these all three are summarised in the introduction, where are also given the principal characteristics of the *bāzārī* Persian of Teheran as they occur in the texts at the end.

In the main part of the work Prof. Christensen gives first the Grammar — phonology, accent, morphology, etc. with examples and illustrations as well as with references to Modern Persian, then the texts with their translation on opposite pages, and lastly the vocabulary of the dialects under investigation. Farizandi and Yarani are treated together, whereas the other two are dealt with separately. Besides, a systematic (as opposed to alphabetical) vocabulary of all the four dialects is added, where also Persian equivalents are given. For all this detailed information we are very grateful to the author. The importance of the subject is self-evident; and moreover, it will not be possible to pursue it after a lapse of some time. Spread of education and other modern factors working in Persia at present are sure to efface the interesting traces of ancient and middle Iranian languages. Persian will take their place, as it has already done in some parts and in the big cities all over the country; and then it will be too late. We cannot but wish that intensive and organised efforts should be made in this direction; everything cannot be achieved within a short stay and with the help of one or two natives that may be found at some place.

The dialects investigated by Prof. Christensen fall within what he calls the central group, in which term is included also the Caspian group of the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*. The late Dr. Mann, whose materials have been edited by Hadank, used for it the comprehensive term North-West as opposed to South-West (Fars and Lur dialects) and West (Kurdish dialects). In other words, the territory of those dialects is roughly speaking the same as that of Media of old. It may here be mentioned that the well-known controversy as to Avesta being the language of Media is renewed by Tedesco who declares that such is really the case since it shows the characteristic traits of the North-West Middle Iranian texts and not those of the Eastern ones discovered in Turfan. His view has not found general acceptance, but Herzfeld has adopted it with certain modifications in his *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. However this may be, we have literary remains from the Middle Iranian period, and for them the knowledge of the modern dialects from the same territory is of particular interest and importance.

The phonology of Gilaki shows many an interesting old phenomenon, for instance, initial *y* and *v* remain—they do not become *j* and *b* or *g* as in Persian. It is also of great importance to note that the pronunciation of *u* is as in English 'car, far, father' and not as in 'law, saw' which is the case in Modern Persian. From the noun system we may note that besides the nominative form there exist two others, acc.-dat. and gen., and the pl. is always formed by adding *ān* (and not *-hā* which is predominant in Modern Persian). Also the verb system varies considerably. As to Farizandi and Yarani, we may note that initial *dv* becomes *b* as is the case in NW. Mid. Pers. texts also and not *d* as elsewhere; and that *f* becomes or rather is represented by *h*. (This difference too is old; it is found in

Iranian loan words in Armenian where it was formerly supposed to be an Armenian matter, but now it has been proved to be an Iranian sound-change, for which we have a further proof here.) Then not only initial *y* and *v* remain, but also doubtless examples are found for the Old Iranian difference *z*: *d*. From the morphology of the two dialects we may refer to the use of the passive construction for the preterite of transitive verbs, to that of the special feminine forms for the third person sing. and to the omission of the *izafat*, (the last point is a characteristic trait of NW. Mid. Pers. also). The dialect of Natanz differs as to the two last details, wherein it agrees with Mod. Pers. The vocabulary of these dialects have similarly preserved pure Iranian words, where Mod. Pers. uses Arabic terms, thus *pīšîn* (*pīšīm*) 'noon', *pasîn* 'afternoon', *vača* 'child'; but for gold and silver they too use Arabic terms which can be easily explained. Also the specific North words are here met with. This, we believe, will be sufficient to show the importance of the work.

Junker, Heinrich F. J: *Arische Forschungen. Yaghnohi-Studien I. Die sprachgeographische Gliederung des Yaghnob-Tales.* Verlag von S. Hirzel, Leipzig 1930 (p. 131) 4°.

In the year 1913 the author, along with the French linguist and Iranist the late Robert Gauthiot, undertook an expedition for making researches about the language and the people of the Yaghnob-valley in north-eastern Persia. Both of these scholars were then acquainted with an earlier form of this tongue, *viz.*, Sogdian the literary remains of which were found in some of the manuscripts discovered from the ruins of Chinese Turkistan. As to Yaghnohi itself, they were in possession of the unpublished "Yaghnohi-Studien" (which was also the basis of Geiger's account of the dialect in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*)

through the kindness of its author the late Salemann. But in the beginning this knowledge was not enough for conversing with and making enquiries from the people; they had therefore to use the medium of Tajiki (or Tojiki as they speak there), the eastern form of Modern Persian. This dialect varies a great deal from the literary or standard or rather conventional form, especially in pronunciation; and both the scholars had to learn it in Samarkand and its environments through practice, since very little was met with in the books dealing with the subject. The knowledge of this dialect was absolutely necessary, as the usual Persian was hardly understood by the people on the country side. After some time, even the medium of Tajiki was given up and the scholars began to use the mother-tongue of the people in their enquiries, and thus gathered all available knowledge about their language, life, and country.

The first specimens of Yaghnobi words were supplied by Ujfalvy in 1877. Prof. Junker reproduces this material as well as what the same traveller has published in 1882 mainly on the authority of Akimbetew. This second list contains also the Tajiki equivalents. Then is given the material collected by Mallitskiy in 1906 but published in 1924. Yaghnobi has no literature, not even popular tales and songs of its own. Moreover, the people with the exception of a part of the women-folk and children speak also Tajiki, which has driven out the native tongue from a part of the country within a quarter of a century. This process is surely to continue and before long Yaghnobi will be a dead language. Hence the importance of the present expedition, the object of which was thoroughly to examine the whole problem of Yaghnobi in its various aspects including its dialectical division. In the absence of literature and folklore the only source was the intercourse with the people, making observations and enquiries about their

everyday life and labours, hopes and fears, views and ambitions. This the author and his friend and fellow-worker did intensively during their whole stay with the people, whom they found very sympathetic and obliging, ready and willing for all that was asked of them in spite of their extreme poverty and otherwise miserable condition.

After describing the geographical position of the Yaghnob valley, the author turns to the earlier accounts of the valley itself given by nine different scholars and travelers from 1820-1906 and lastly by the government of the country. Here we find minute geographical details, names of localities, the number of inhabitants in them, etc., not without critical remarks of the author. Supplementary details about the country are to be found in the account given by a native in his mother-tongue, which account is here reproduced in exact transcription and with translation. Two points are especially examined by Prof. Junker: the localities that fall within the Yaghnobi group from the standpoint of language and not only from their situation in the valley; and the number of Yaghnobi speaking persons. He shows that there are more or less recent Yaghnobi colonies, which fact has caused the spread of the language in some directions, just as it has been driven out from some others; and that speaking in round number 2200 souls use this tongue. After some interesting remarks on mutual influence and common traits of the nature of the country, its people, and their language, Prof. Junker examines the question of the Yaghnobi dialects. First of all there is the difference of pronunciation according to the age of the speaker: the younger generation has adopted the *ī* and *ū* sounds instead of the *ē* and *ō* ones. Then in the western part *ē* is used for *ī*, and *ai* for *ē*; and epenthetic *i* for epenthetic *a*. (Is all this due to Tajiki influence? Prof. Junker thinks it possible regarding *ē*: *ī*.) The original

θ appears as *t* in the west and as *s* in the east, where it is still spoken as θ by the older generation. While examining the question as to the causes of these changes the author comes to the conclusion that the physical condition of the valley has given rise to natural provincial unities which have led to the formation of distinct groups of colonies where isolation has given rise to dialectical peculiarities, and that within the provincial unities has worked the economical factor.

Thus we have in the present part of the work, which contains four maps and sketches, the linguistic-geographical grouping of the Yaghnob valley. We hope and wish that the rest dealing with the language and containing its specimens will soon be made accessible by Prof. Junker to the specialist. That will be of far greater importance and interest.

Schaeder, Hans Heinrich: *Iranische Beiträge I*, Halle, Max Niemeyer 1930 (p. 98) 8°.

In this work are included five studies, directly or indirectly dealing with Iranian history political, literary, and religious. The first of them refers to the Achaemenian system of preparing despatches for the government of widely separated territories of the great empire. Prof. Schaeder shows that they were written in what is called the State-Arameic and in no other language, not even in Old Persian. This language had the distinct advantage of possessing a script suitable for writing purposes. The scribes attached to all the government offices had to know besides this tongue one language only, viz. that of the country or province in order to acquaint the executive of the contents of the despatches, and to understand their replies which too were then written down in State-Arameic and forwarded to their destination. This process of reading and translating, and translating and writing at

one and the same time has been referred to in Ezra 4. 18 according to Prof. Schaeder. This runs as follows: "The letter, which you have sent us, has *mṗāraš* been read to me". The word in question has generally been translated 'clearly, exactly'; but it is much better to take it in the sense of 'explain, interpret' occurring elsewhere. Then we can see in it the reference to and designation of the process in question. Prof. Schaeder similarly explains Hebrew *mṗōraš* (Nehemiah 8. 8) and *šēm hamṗōraš*. The same term occurs as an ideogram of *vičārtan* 'to explain, etc.'; one expects here also *uzvārtan*, since *uzvārišn* is the technical term used for the same process of 'explaining' the ideogramic writing in Pahlavi. Perhaps the word was not so common as *vičārtan*, though it does occur in the simple or non-technical sense, too. As the last point in this study, the author tries to interpret the much discussed paragraph 70 of the Behistun inscription; he says that Darius refers to the 'ideogramic' system of communication, when he says that he prepared the inscriptions in a different manner, in Aryan, and sent them to all the countries and the people understood (?) them. Such Arameic versions of the inscriptions are discovered long ago, and quite recently from Persia itself, which fact supports Prof. Schaeder and not Prof. Herzfeld who sees (in the same passage) a reference to the introduction of Pahlavi.

In the second study is examined the composition of Ezra 4 to 6 which contains historical details, but which was not considered genuine because of some chronological confusion therein. This is now set aright by the author. The next two chapters are devoted to the study of State-Arameic. One of them deals with the linguistic and orthographical development of this tongue, and the other with the Iranian elements therein. The former is very

useful for the ideograms in Pahlavi: the latter for the history of Old Persian, about which Prof. Schaeder comes to a different conclusion from that of Andreas. The fifth and last study is on the origin and primary meaning of the term *zandik*, which is pure Iranian and not Semitic, and is to be derived from *zand* 'commentary'. This is not new, but the author had to prove it, because of some different views in vogue. Moreover, he shows what is exactly meant by *zand* in the word *zandik*. He quotes Masudi on this point, and says that *zand* here refers to allegorical or non-orthodox explanation. Mani gave his own interpretation to the Zoroastrian doctrine of the two Spirits, and hence the term was applied to his followers. In this connection Prof. Schaeder shows that the Denkart IX. 30. 4 contains a reference to such misinterpretation of Yasna 30. 3. (But he is not right when he says that the Pahlavi version does not purposely translate *yamā* 'twin', but simply retains or transcribes it, for this so-called transcription occurs in other texts, as I show in my unpublished work on the Kustik. I may as well repeat what I have written to the author on the use of *zandik* in Pahlavi books. In Šay-nā-šay. 6. 7 it means 'Manichean' as I have shown there in the notes; but I correct my view, expressed in the same place, as regards the Mātikān i vičastak abāliš: here the term means 'heterodox', if 'apostate' is not allowed. The facts are that his name originally was Dēn Ōhrmazd, i.e. he was a Zoroastrian; his later name Abāliš, which is Arabic, points to his conversion to Islam. This is nowhere mentioned, but it must have taken place after he was denied the *vāč*—and the meal that followed it.) We regret that there is no index to these excellent studies which contain so much useful information on diverse points and words. We eagerly await the author's further contributions promised in this work.

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ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION IN THE AVESTA

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN OF

KARL F. GELDNER

BY

JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA, B.A., PH.D.

Lecturer in the University of Hamburg.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The late Prof. Dr. K. F. Geldner (17-12-1852—5-2-1929) is known among the Parsis through his great edition of the Avesta. This is probably the reason why his present work, which is the second, revised and enlarged edition of his contribution to Bertholet's *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, is being translated for them. The reader will find therein a classified selection from the Avesta. Geldner's version, which he calls literal and not free, differs in many cases, even from that of Bartholomae; but unfortunately only a few of them are further explained in the notes, and therefore it is not always easy to understand his point of view. In any case, I have tried to translate his German quite literally, sometimes even with reluctance; and although I often consulted the original Avesta, that was with the view of assuring myself about his meaning, and not with that of controlling, much less correcting it. Hence I am not responsible for the translation as a whole, nor for any details, for instance, like the treatment of technical terms.

University of Hamburg,

J. C. TAVADIA.

23-9-1931.

INTRODUCTION

The canonical literature of the Zoroastrian (Zarathushtrian) Religion is comprised under the name **Avesta** (wrongly **Zend-Avesta** also). Its new collection and edition was prepared under the Sasanian kings; and thus a new canon was produced from the old fragments. And what is preserved from this canon serves the Parsis even now as their Bible. (For the several books of the present Avesta see Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* 4. ed. II, 208.) As regards date and language the Avesta is divided into two very unequal parts; the larger one, the Later Avesta, containing the liturgy and the priestly code of the developed Zoroastrian church, and the *Gāthās*. The *Gāthās* (speech-verses) profess to be the original words of the prophet, and these they seem to be indeed. They are the last remnants of his sermons; they epitomise their purport in short memorial verses, thus pointing to the prose original, no longer extant. For judging the genuine, original teaching of Zoroaster, they are of the greatest importance. But their value in fully understanding it, is impaired by the fact that they are only few, and that these few are full of obscurities and obsolete words, and that they do not contain a detailed system of teaching, but are mere prophetic catchwords and epigrams, exhortations, prophecies and protestations, now before the assembled congregation, now in colloquy with God and His archangels.

An account of the Zoroastrian religion is given by Lehmann in *Chantepie* II, 199 ff. (with further literature); a brief sketch by K. Geldner in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* IV under the title *Perser und Parsismus*, 1364-1382.

I. The Gāthās.

In the Gāthās, Ahura Mazda (the Wise Lord) appears generally together with his archangels, the Amesha Spentas (cf. Chantepie II, 222). These are the personified elements of the wished-for perfect kingdom of God, namely, Asha "Right Law", Vohu Mano "Good Mind", Khshathra "Kingdom (of God)", Ārmaiti "Devotion", Haurvatāt "Perfection", and Ameretāt "Immortality". Everywhere they occur as persons, but their original abstract meaning is still visible. It is through this double sense that the Gāthā strophes get their full substance, whereas in the literal translation given here they often give an impression of a torrent of empty words. And indeed they mostly vary similar fundamental ideas.

[The numeral figures in this first part refer naturally to the Yasna.]

AHURA MAZDA, THE WISE LORD.

- 44, 3 : This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Lord : Who¹ was the first generator and father of Asha (Law) ? Who made the path of the sun and stars ? Who [has ordained] that the moon waxes and wanes again ? All this, O Wise One, and the other I wish to know.
- 44, 4 : This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Lord : Who fixed the earth below and the clouds, so that they do not fall down ? Who (created) water and plants ? Who yoked the two runners to the wind and clouds ? Who is, O Wise One, the creator of Vohu Mano (Good Mind) ?
- 44, 5 : This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Lord : Which artist created the lights and darkness ? Which artist created sleep and waking ? Who [created] morning, noon, and night, which remind the sensible of their aim ?

1 Answer : Ahura Mazda Himself.

THE TWO SPIRITS, OUT OF WHOM THE HOLY ONE IS THAT OF
THE LORD HIMSELF.

- 45, 2: And I will speak of the two Spirits at the beginning of life², out of whom the Holy One thus spake to the Evil One : Neither our thoughts, nor teachings, nor understandings, nor beliefs, nor words, nor deeds, nor consciences, nor souls will agree.
- 30, 3: And in the beginning there were these two Spirits, the twin, who according to their own words are called the Good and the Bad (Principle) in thought, speech, and action. Between them, the good-doing ones chose aright, not the evil-doing ones.
- 30, 4: And when these two Spirits first came together, they established life and death, and that at the last there shall be the worst existence for the unbelievers, but for the true believers (the reward of) the Best Mind³.
- 30, 5: Of these two Spirits the unbeliever⁴ chose the worst as his work, but the Holy Spirit (chose) Right,—he who puts on the firmest sky as a garment⁵, (and with him) all who wish to please the Lord through pure deed, openly adhering to Mazda.

THE DEVS (CHANTEPIE II, 230).

- 30, 6: Between these two (Spirits), the Devs also chose not aright, because as they deliberated the deceiver came to them, in order that they might choose the Worst Mind. And they all ran to Aeshma⁶, through whom men would spoil their life.

2 That is, the world.

3 The gifts of Vohu Mano (see 10, 12; 42, 2; 51, 11; note 159), as paradise with its pleasures is usually called.

4 Ahriman.

5 Here, as later on, the Holy Spirit is identified with Ormazd.

6 The demon of anger, the Biblical Asmodeus.

- 32, 3: And all ye Devs are the seed of Evil Mind, and also every person who worships you and who misleads one to the deeds of Lie and Arrogance, whereby ye are notorious on the seventh (region) of the earth⁷.
- 32, 4: As long as ye give the worst commands, by following which people are called the favourites of the Devs,—who turn away from Good Mind, who renounce the wisdom of the Wise Lord and Asha (Law),—
- 32, 5: ye defraud people of happy life and of immortality by this deed, which the Evil Spirit (has taught) you, the Devs, with bad intention and bad word, and through which he has promised sovereignty to the unbeliever.

THE DEVS AS ENEMIES OF CIVILISATION.

- 44, 20: When, O Wise One, have the Devs ever been good rulers? And I ask: (were it they) who just look on, how⁸ the Karapan⁹ and Usij⁹ abandon the cow to Aeshma¹⁰ for them and whereby the Kavan⁹ makes (the cow) continually to moan? They do not wish¹¹ to further cattle-breeding according to Law.

THE FALSE TEACHER AND THE TRUE PROPHET.

- 31, 11: When Thou, O Wise One, in the beginning didst create our beings and consciences and according to Thy Mind the understanding, and when Thou didst invest the vital spirit with body, and when Thou (gavest) deeds and words, whereby one may follow his faith at his will,—
- 31, 12: then raises his voice the speaker of falsehood or the

7 The middle part of the earth on which people live.

8 Through mal-treatment and slaughter.

9 Name of the priests of the old Dev-cult, the principal enemies of Zarathushtra.

10 See note 6.

11 Read *him izen*.

speaker of truth, the knowing one or the ignorant one according to his heart and mind...

ZARATHUSHTRA'S MISSION.

28, 4: I, who have made up my mind to awaken the soul in agreement with Vohu Mano, and as one, who knows the rewards of the Wise Lord for deeds, as long as I can and shall have strength, so long will I preach that they exert according to Asha (Law).

45, 1: And I will speak, now listen, now hear, ye, who come from near and who [come] from far desiring. Now mark ye all him¹², for he is unmasked! Not shall the false teacher destroy the life a second time, the lying tongue that adheres to the wicked faith.

Cf. also 50, 11.

HIS DOUBTS AND TEMPTATIONS.

31, 17: Has the true believer or the unbeliever chosen the higher? The knowing one shall tell¹³ the knowing one, not shall the unknowing one mislead. Be to us, O Wise Lord, the teacher of Good Mind!

44, 12: This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Lord: Who is the true believer? Those whom I have to answer? Or (who is) the unbeliever? Art Thou Thyself the Evil one or is that the Evil one, the unbeliever who deprives me of Thy benefits¹⁴? How is it that he himself is not considered as the Evil one?¹⁵

46, 1: To what land am I to go, where am I to flee? They estrange me from family and from patron. The follow-

12 The false teacher.

13 That is, confirm.

14 *sava* or *savah* "benefit, profit" is Zoroaster's idea of salvation.

15 Among the followers of the false (i.e., the other, anti-Zoroastrian) religion.

ers do not please me, nor the.....¹⁶, nor the unbelieving rulers of the land. How am I to please Thee, Wise Lord ?

46, 2: I know, O Wise One, why I am dissatisfied : my cattle are but few, and because I have few people. I cry unto Thee—look to it, O Lord—, and pray to Thee for support, as friend should give it unto friend. Teach me through Asha (Law) to exert for Good Mind (Vohu Mano).

46, 3: When will, O Wise One, the mornings of those days come forth, that the living world adheres to Asha (Law)? (When [will come]) the right understanding through the lofty words of the future saviours¹⁷? To whom will come Vohu Mano for help? I solicit Thee to give me promise, O Lord.

32, 10: That man destroys my teachings, who declares, the worst for the eyes to see is the Cow and the Sun, and who turns the right doers into unbelievers, and who desolates the pastures, and who lifts his weapon against the true believer.

32, 11: They deprive me of my life¹⁸, the unbelievers, who have strived with power to deprive mistresses and masters¹⁹ of their (heavenly) heritage, [and] who wish to make the true believers to turn away from the Best Mind, O Wise One.

51, 12: The Kavi follower Vaepaya did not please Zarathushtra Spitama, that he prevented him to come to him in the beginning of winter, when moreover his two horses came shivering with cold²⁰.

16 One word is missing here.

17 The prophet or prophets.

18 That is, of the reward of my life.

19 Probably a reference to some particular influential persons.

20 Evidently a personal experience of Zoroaster in difficult days.

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UNBELIEVERS.

- 81, 18: Do not listen, any of you, to the imposing words and teachings of the unbeliever, for he brings house, clan, district or land into discord and destruction. Therefore punish them with weapon !
- 46, 4: And the unbeliever prevents these promoters of Asha from grazing the cattle in district or land, who is an evil.....²¹ and through his own deeds.....Whoever, O Wise One, deprives him of his sovereignty or life, he goes at the head on the paths of the good teaching.
- 33, 2: And he who will do evil to the unbeliever with word or with thought or with hands, or converts his follower to the good, they meet the will of the Wise Lord and please Him.

HIS CONFIDENCE IN GOD.

- 46, 7: Which other protector could, O Wise One, anybody give to my person, when the unbeliever dares to do me violence, except Thy Fire and (Vohu) Mano, through the activity of which the Law will be fulfilled, O Lord. Promise this masterpiece²² to my conscience !

Cf. 50, 1.

HE DEMANDS SURETY FROM THE LORD.

- 48, 9: When shall I know, whether Ye have power over him from whom destruction threatens me, O Wise One, O Asha? The declaration²³ of Vohu Mano should be confirmed unto me. The saviour²⁴ should know, how his fate would be.

²¹ *duzhazēbāo* or *duzhadēbāo*? cf. *duradabhnā* A [tharva]-v [eda] 12, 4, 4. 19.

²² The new Kingdom of God.

²³ In the conference of the prophet with the archangel Vohu Mano, to which Yasna 43 indirectly refers. ²⁴ Prophet Zoroaster.

HIS SPECIAL REWARD IN HEAVEN.

- 51, 7: O Thou Who hast created the Cow and water and plants, give me, O Wise One, immortality and perfectness through Thy Holiest Spirit, strength and durability through Vohu Mano at the judgment!
- 44, 18: This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Lord: How can I earn through Asha the reward—ten mares with a stallion and a camel—, which is promised to me, O Wise One, together with perfectness and immortality, as it is in Thy power to give both?
- 44, 19: This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Lord: He who does not give the reward unto him, who earns it, and [to whom] he should give it according to the promise, what penalty will come to him at once, for I know that which will come to him at the last?

Cf. also 43, 3, 13; 49, 8; 50, 5.

HIS PRINCELY PATRON, KING VISHTĀSPA AND THE TWO
COUNCELLORS, THE BROTHERS FRASHAOSHTRA
AND JĀMĀSPA.

- 51, 11: Who is a friend of Spitama Zarathushtra, O Wise One? Or who [has] let himself be counselled by Asha? What is Holy Ārmaiti? Or which upright man hopes for the gift of grace²⁵ of Vohu Mano?
- 51, 16: King Vishtāspa has accepted with his sovereignty this teaching of the (divine) gift of grace according to the words of Vohu Mano, which [gift of grace] the holy Wise Lord together with Asha hath devised. Now do advise us according to desire!
- 54, 17: A worth loving body for his believing soul hath Frashaoshtra Hvōgva described to me²⁶, which the

²⁵ Paradise.

²⁶ That is, he has described unto him the beautiful body which he will pray for in paradise for his soul, cf. Yanna 35, 6.

powerful Wise Lord shall give him according to desire, so that he may attain the [strength for] striving according to Law (Asha).

- 51, 18: Jāmāspa Hvōgva, the Illustrious, chooses this creed, this kingdom of his desire, the good acquisitions of (Vohu) Mano. Grant me this, O Wise Lord, that they may be a support to Thee.
- 13, 14: (The Lord will speak on the Judgment day :) "Zarathushtra, which true believer is thy friend? Or who wishes to be called for the great reward?" (Zarathushtra:) "And that is King Vishtāspa at the Judgment. All those whom Thou, O Wise Lord, wilt unite in Thy house, them will I call with words of Good Mind (Vohu Mano)".
- 46, 15: Ye Haechataspa Spitamas²⁷, of you will I declare that ye distinguish the just and the unjust. Through such deeds ye inherit integrity according to the primeval laws of the Lord.
- 46, 16: "Frashaoshtra Hvōgva²⁸, enter thou there with these faithful²⁹, of whom we both desire that they may fare according to desire, there where Ārmaiti (Devotion) is united with Asha (Law), where Kingdom is according to the desire of Vohu Mano (Good Mind), where the Wise Lord dwells in prosperity."
- Cf. also 49, 8.
- 46, 17: Where I will sing only (praise) hymns about you, not in common words, O Jāmāspa Hvōgva, and (I will proclaim) your praise along with voluntary obedience unto the Wise Lord Who with Asha, His clever counsellor, separates the just and the unjust.

27 Hereby he means his own relatives that were zealous for the faith. Haechataspa was, according to tradition, the great-grandfather of Zarathushtra, and Spitama was the ancestor of his noble family.

28 The family name of the two brothers.

29 Ormazd and the prophet.

THE AHUNA-VAIRYA (HONOUR).

The holy formula of creed : Zoroaster is appointed by Ormuzd as Teacher and Preparer of the New Kingdom.

- 27, 13 : As he³⁰ is to be chosen as the Lord, so also as the Master because of Law (Asha), who prepares for Mazda the deeds of Good Mind (Vohu Mano) in (this) life, and for Ahura the (future) Kingdom, whom³⁰ he³¹ appointed as the shepherd for the needy.

THE APPROACHING KINGDOM OF GOD.

- 45, 8 : Him shalt thou³² try to win for us by praises of humility, for now I will see before my eyes (the Kingdom) of good thought, action and speech, I who, O Asha, know the Wise Lord. And in Paradise we will offer Him praises.
- 48, 11 : When, O Wise One, will Ārmaiti come with Asha, [and] with (God's) Kingdom the good abode, rich in pastures ? Who will establish peace from the cruel unbelievers ? To whom will come the religious teaching of Vohu Mano ?
- 51, 1 : It is the good Kingdom that brings the better portion. There flows sweet restorative, O Asha, for him who according to his deeds, O Wise One, receives the Best as reward. This Kingdom will I now work out for us.

REWARD AND PUNISHMENT IN THIS WORLD AND
THE OTHER.

- 46, 18 : He who satisfies me, to him I promise the best thing of my wish through Vohu Mano, but trouble unto him who would throw us into trouble, I who satisfy Your will,

30 Zarathushtra.

31 Ahura Mazda.

32 [One of] the faithful is addressed.

O Mazda, O Asha. That is the firm decision of my mind and thought.

46, 19: He who accomplisheth for me—for Zarathushtra—in accordance with Law (Asha) that which is the most perfect (the best) according to his will, to him shall come his reward: a pair of cows in the best of their age besides all his wishes, to him who has deserved future life. That knowest Thou best to bring about.

51, 6: (It is the) Wise Lord who appointeth through His Kingdom the best of all for him who satisfies His will, but the worst of all for him who is not obedient to Him—at the last turning-point of life.

Cf. also 43, 2, 16; 49, 11; 50, 2.

THE TRUE BELIEVER WILL RECEIVE AS REWARD THE
PROPERTY OF THE UNBELIEVER.

47, 5: And all these best things which Thou, O Wise Lord, hast promised through Thy Holy Spirit to the true believer, them possesses the unbeliever without Thy permission, who in his works depends upon the Evil Spirit.

Cf. 50, 3.

THE GREAT JUDGMENT AND THE PERFECTION OF THE WORLD.

30, 2: Hear with your ears the best thing for you, examine with clear mind the confession of faith to be decided upon, man by man for his person, drawing his attention still before the great judgment in order to advise him.

30, 8: And when the punishment will come upon these evil-doers, then, O Wise One, will Thy Kingdom be established by Vohu Mano, so that Thou, O Lord, mayest advise them who would deliver Druj (Lie) into the hands of Asha (Truth).

30, 9: And we will be those that will perfect this life, O Wise One, and ye (other) Lords, and Asha, give us your help, so that thoughts may be united where the wrong faith still subsists.

30, 10: Then will happen the destruction of the power (?) of Druj, and they will partake of the reward of the good abode of Vohu Mano, of Mazda, and of Asha, [they] that abide by the good message.

44, 14: This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Lord: How can I deliver Druj into the hands of Asha, so that he may crush her according to the words of Thy message, in order to cause great destruction among the unbelievers, in order to destroy the deceivers and opponents, O Wise One?

44, 15: This I ask Thee, tell me truly, O Lord, inasmuch as Thou hast so much power as to offer protection together with Asha, when the two unaccustomed armies³³ clash together according to the promises which Thou wilt fulfil: to which of the two, to whom wilt Thou give victory?

THE GENERAL JUDGMENT WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE FORM OF
A GREAT ORDEAL WITH FIRE AND MELTED METAL.

31, 3: The trial (examination), which Thou wilt hold with Thy Spirit and Fire and Asha for (ascertaining) vice and virtue³⁴, which should be a warning to the sensible ones,—tell us that, O Wise One, with the tongue of Thy mouth for the sake of knowledge, so that I may convert thereby all living men.

31, 19: One should listen to him who is the healer of life, who, as a knowing one, has known Right (Asha), O Lord, who can guarantee at will the word of his tongue through

³³ The followers of the prophet and his rivals or [the followers] of the two Spirits.

³⁴ Literally: the two debts.

Thy red Fire³⁵, O Wise One, at the decision, at the assignment of vice and virtue.

47, 6: Therefore, O Wise Lord, at the decision through Thy Holy Spirit (and) through Fire shalt Thou make the allotment (of reward and punishment) according to vice and virtue with the assistance of Ārmaiti and Asha. For this³⁶ will convert many who will experience it.

51, 8: For I will speak of these two things—for one should say it to the knowing (initiated) one—something evil for the unbeliever, but according to the wish of him who abides by Law (Asha),—for this Prophet is pleased, who ([=] when he) can speak of it to the knowing one:

51, 9: Of the examination which Thou, O Wise One, wilt hold for (recognising) vice and virtue through Thy red Fire, [and] for impressing a sign through melted metal upon the conscience, for ruin to the unbeliever, for benefit to the true believer.

Cf. also 43, 4-6.

BLISS AND DAMNATION.

45, 7: Whose³⁷ favours shall the obedient ones see, [they] who are living, have been, and will be. In immortality the soul of the true believer is happy, whereas the torment of the unbelieving people will continue. And this the Wise Lord achieves through His Kingdom.

THE INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH AT THE BRIDGE OF THE JUDGE.

46, 10: Whoso, man or woman, doeth unto me what Thou, O Wise Lord, knowest as the best in life, (give him) as

35 The prophet is ready to prove the truth of his promises by means of an ordeal at the time of decision.

36 The allotment, that is, positive hope for it.

37 Of Ahura Mazda, or those that His religion grants.

reward for his true faith the (heavenly) Kingdom through Vohu Mano. And with all, whom I can persuade to praise you, will I happily cross the Bridge of the Judge.

46, 11 : By their power do the Karapans³⁸ and Kavis³⁸ entangle man in evil actions in order to spoil his life, whom their own soul and (religious) conscience will annoy, when they will come there where the Bridge of the Judge is. For all time [will] they be the inmates in the house of Druj.³⁹

51, 13 : Therefore the conscience of the unbeliever, in comparison with that of the right doer, really comes off badly, whose soul will feel vexed before the Declarer⁴⁰ at the Bridge of the Judge, because it is gone astray from the path of Law (Asha) owing to its own works and (words) of the tongue.

Cf. also 50, 4.

Moral Commands and Rules of Life are generally comprised under the term "good thought, good speech, good action"; it is very seldom that the Gāthās enter into details. Loving care of domestic animals is specially emphasised.

48, 5 : May good rulers rule us, may not bad rulers rule us, with the works of the good faith, O Ārmaiti.—Purity just after birth is the best for man. For cattle one must be industrious; let it thrive for our nourishment.

48, 6 : May she⁴¹ give us a peaceful dwelling, may she give us perseverance and strength, she who is dear to Vohu

38 See note 9.

39 The female Satan.

40 The personified judgment.

41 Ārmaiti, who is also the genius of the earth.

Mano. And for her the Wise Lord made plants to grow according to Law at the creation of the first life.⁴²

- 48, 7: Wrath [=violence]⁴³ should be put down, refrain from maltreatment, ye who would fain secure through Asha the good tidings of Vohu Mano,⁴⁴ whose companion the holy man becomes. And his⁴⁵ creatures are in Thy abode, O Lord.
- 31, 15: This I ask Thee, what will be the penalty for him who secures the kingdom for the unbeliever, O Lord, [and] for the evil doer who does not find his livelihood without depriving the harmless husbandman of his cattle and men?
- 33, 3: He, who is the best (friend) for the true believer, with his clan or as one who has followers, or with his patron, O Lord, or he who devotes himself with diligence to cattle,—he will live in the pasture of Asha and Vohu Mano.
- 33, 4: I who through prayer would keep far from Thee, O Lord, disobedience and evil mind, and from the clan impudence, and from the followers Druj (Lie) in the neighbourhood, and from the patron the slanderers, and from the pasture of cattle the worst herdsman,—

Translation of Selected Chapters of the Gāthās

YASNA 43.

ZARATHUSHTRA'S PROGRAMME, 1-6.

- 1: According to wish⁴⁶ do I wish to each one—to whom may the Wise Lord, ruling at will, grant it at will—that

42 As opposed to the future, perfected world.

43 The cruel treatment of cattle.

44 cf. note 23.

45 Of Vohu Mano.

46 Lit., "In wish." There is a play of words regarding the idea of "wish," which it is hard to bring out in translation.

he may obtain strength and perseverance in order to abide by Asha (Law)—this mayest thou, O Ārmaiti, grant me—and riches as reward and the life of Good Mind.

2: And to him may be allotted the best of all [things]. According to his wish for bliss may man obtain bliss through Thy attentive Holiest Spirit, O Wise One, (and) the pleasures of Vohu Mano, which Thou with Asha wilt grant all the days together with the joy of long (*i.e.* eternal) life.

3: And may that man⁴⁷ reach the better from the good, who can teach us the right paths of benefit (*i.e.* bliss) in this life of body and in that of spirit⁴⁸, the true (paths) to the inmates at whose place the Lord lives⁴⁹,—(a man) right doing, kind, holy like Thee, O Wise One.

4: And I would recognise Thee as the holy and strong one, O Wise One, when through (Thy) hand,—in which Thou keepest that lot which Thou wilt prepare for the unbeliever and for the true believer,—[and] when through the glow of Thy red Fire⁵⁰, whose strength is Asha, the might of Vohu Mano will come to me.

5: And I recognised Thee as the holy one, O Wise Lord, when I saw⁵¹ Thee first at the creation of life, that Thou wilt make the deeds and words to be recompensed—evil for the evil and a good lot for the good—through Thy generosity at the last turning-point of the creation.

6: At⁵² which turning-point Thou wilt appear with Thy Holy Spirit, O Wise One, with Khshathra (Kingdom)

47 The true prophet is meant.

48 That is, in the heavenly one.

49 To the blessed in heaven.

50 At the great ordeal, see above.

51 That is, as a spiritual seer.

52 The strophe describes the *renovatio mundi*.

and Vohu Mano by whose actions people will be made prosperous by Asha. To these⁵³ does Ārmaiti proclaim the judges⁵⁴ of Thy decree which none can deceive.

APPOINTMENT OF THE PROPHET BY THE ARCHANGEL VOHU
MANO AND BY THE LORD HIMSELF, 7-13.

- 7: And I recognised Thee as the holy one, O Wise Lord, when Vohu Mano appeared before me and asked me: Who art thou, to whom dost thou belong? How shall I appoint a day by means of a sign for the conference over thy people and over thyself?
- 8: And I said to him: firstly I am Zarathushtra, a true enemy will I be, as far as I can, to the unbeliever, but a powerful support to the true believer, so that I may get a claim to the Kingdom according to my wish, as long as I praise and sing Thee, O Wise One.
- 9: And I recognised Thee as the holy one, O Wise Lord, when Vohu Mano appeared before me to ask me: For whom wilt thou decide?—and (when) Thou Thyself (didst appear) at the humble offering to Thy Fire in order to make me understand Asha, as far as I am able for it⁵⁵.
- 10: (The Lord speaks :) “And thou shalt see⁵⁶ My Asha, since I together with Ārmaiti call it to come near Me. And now ask Us whatever thy questions there be for Us, for a question by thee is as that of the mighty, because one would like to satisfy thee, the mighty one, according to ability.”
- 11: And I recognised Thee as the holy one, O Wise Lord, when Vohu Mano appeared before me, when through Your

53 The pious people

54 At the final judgment as in 31, 2. Zoroaster thinks here especially of himself

55 These sentences are very difficult and doubtful.

56 In person, after he has taught it to the prophet in abstracts.

words I was instructed first. The faith to do that which Ye said to me as the best brought me sorrow among men.

12: And when Thou saidst to me: Thou shalt come in order to be instructed in Law (Asha), then Thou hadst no need to warn me about disobedience⁵⁷ as regards my hastening before Sraosha⁵⁸ will come to me in company with Ashi, rich in treasures, who will apportion the lot as gain (bliss) according to merits⁵⁹.

13: And I recognised Thee as the holy one, O Wise Lord, when Vohu Mano appeared before me in order to know the goals of my wish⁶⁰. "Grant me that [wish] for a long life, which to obtain none can force You, for the better existence which is said to be in Your Kingdom".

14: If Thy support and Thy instruction, such as a powerful acquaintance should give to his friend, O Wise One, are allotted to me through Thy power from Asha, then will I hasten, leading the fighters⁶¹ for the doctrine and all those who are mindful of Thy words.

15: And I recognised Thee as the holy one, O Wise Lord, when Vohu Mano appeared before me. Then taught Tushnāmaiti⁶², what is the best thing to hear: A man should not be pleasing to the many unbelievers, but these turn all true believers into apostates.

16: And Zarathushtra himself chooses that Spirit which is Thy holiest one, O Wise Lord. May Asha appear

57 That is, I at once willingly obeyed Thy word.

58 Similarly an angel, the personified listening and obedience.
cf. Bundahish, below.

59 That is, according to vice and virtue.

60 That is, [to know] which favours the prophet asks for for his mission.

61 Really speaking: the armies.

62 That is, satisfied mind; a personification, probably the same as *Ārmaiti*.

endowed with a body, strong in vital power! May Ārmaiti (Devotion) rule in the Kingdom⁶³ where the sun shines. May she together with Vohu Mano apportion the lot according to deeds.

YASNA 49.

- 1: . And the greatest Pestilence⁶⁴ has always tormented me, I who should approve his evil designs, O Asha, O Wise One. Good is the retribution, come to me, support me, achieve with Vohu Mano his destruction!
- 2: And of this Pestilence reminds me the unbelieving prophet, the deceiver, who has fallen away from Asha. He does not cling to holy Ārmaiti (Devotion), that she may be with him; nor does he let himself be advised by Vohu Mano.
- 3: And to the Prophet of this faith⁶⁵, O Wise One, is warmly recommended⁶⁶, to further true belief, and to destroy Lie (unbelief). Therefore do I strive for the fellowship of Vohu Mano, I give up the friendship of all unbelievers.
- 4: Those wiseacres who increase wrath [=violence]⁶⁷ and maltreatment with their tongues, they the non-cattle-breeders among the cattle-breeders, whose ill deeds cannot be compensated with good deeds, they turn the conscience of the unbeliever into (incarnate) Devs.
- 5: But he⁶⁸, O Wise One, is sweet restorative and fat for every one who brings his conscience in harmony with Vohu Mano, who is a true follower of Ārmaiti, O Asha.

63 The new Kingdom of God.

64 The Evil Spirit Ahriman.

65 To Zarathushtra.

66 Literally: is impressed.

67 Against cattle, cf. 48, 7.

68 The prophet himself through his words, cf. Yasna 29, 7

And with all these (I would like to be) in Thy Kingdom,
O Lord !

- 6 : I beseech You⁶⁹, O Wise One and Asha, to say what is according to the thought of Your wisdom in order to be able to rightly distinguish, how we should teach the religion which is of those like You, O Lord.
- 7 : And let Vohu Mano hear that, O Wise One; let Asha hear it, and do Thyself listen, O Lord : Which patron⁷⁰, which relative it is according to laws, who procures for the party⁷¹ good fame ?
- 8 : To Frashaoshtra do Thou grant the most pleasant friendship with Asha⁷²—this I ask of Thee, Wise Lord—, and to myself in Thy good Kingdom. For all eternity we would be Thy beloved ones.
- 9 : Let the helper⁷³, who is created for salvation, hear the ordinances : The truth-speaker⁷⁴ does not see the (future) fellowship⁷⁵ with the unbeliever, when they that are allied with Asha make their faithful souls partake of the best reward on the judgment day, O Jāmāspa.
- 10 : And this, O Wise One, takest Thou under Thy protection in Thy Kingdom: Good Mind, souls of the true believers, due worship, devoted Mind and sweet restorative⁷⁶,—through Thy great Kingdom, importance and.....
- 11 : But unto those that rule badly, that do evil, speak evil, have an evil religion, think evil, unto the unbelie-

69 Request for new revelations.

70 His followers in the limited circle of his patron and relatives are meant.

71 The co-religionists.

72 In heavenly kingdom.

73 Probably Jāmāspa is meant.

74 Zarathushtra.

75 Of the aforesaid Vizier.

76 The food of the blessed.

vers come⁷⁷ the souls with bad food. In the house of Lie⁷⁸ will they be real inmates.

- 12: What hast thou, O Asha, as help for the invoking Zarathushtra, what thou, O Vohu Mano, for me who would like to please you with songs of praise, O Wise Lord, requesting for that which is the best thing according to Your wish?

YASNA 50.

- 1: Has my soul any help whatever? Who is indeed a protector of my cattle and who of myself when I call him, except Asha and Thee, O Wise Lord, and Best Mind (Vohu Mano)?
- 2: How, O Wise One, should he aspire after the Cow of Reward⁷⁹, he who wishes that she may belong to him together with the pasture, he who among the many that see the sun lives righteously? Since Thou rewardest (?) those that stand in the judgment, accept me as the righteous one!
- 3: And she⁸⁰ shall be allotted to him, O Wise One, to whom He⁸¹ has promised her through Asha (Law), through His Kingdom (Khshathra) and through Good Mind (Vohu Mano), which man [=who] by the power of his merit shall cause to prosper for himself that property which the unbeliever possesses in the immediate neighbourhood.
- 4: And praising will I worship You, O Wise Lord, together with Law (Asha) and Best Mind and Kingdom

77 After death.

78 The female Satan.

79 The reward in paradise.

80 The heavenly cow.

81 Ahura Mazda or Asha.

(Khshathra), when the desired revealer⁸² waits for the pious on the way to the paradise of the believer.

5: For one has deserved through Your visible, manifest help, O Wise Lord, O Asha,—when You favour Your prophet—, Your beckonings which shall place us in bliss⁸³.

6: When the prophet Zarathushtra, in humility as friend, lifts up his voice, O Wise One, O Asha, then may the Creator⁸⁴ of Wisdom⁸⁴ teach through Vohu Mano the rules, whereby there may be for my tongue a straight way⁸⁵.

7: Then will I harness for You the swiftest race-horses, stout and strong, through the stimulation of Your praise, O Wise One, O Asha, O Vohu Mano, with which You shall drive: Come Ye for my help!⁸⁶

8: With verse-speeches⁸⁷ which are known as those of restorative drink, will I come with outstretched hands near You, O Wise One, and near You Asha with the humility of the pious one, and near You with the decorum of Good Mind (Vohu Mano).

9: Praising You with these prayers will I come, O Mazda and Asha, with deeds of Good Mind. If I may command over my lot according to my will, then would I enjoy as right doer the (fruits of my) efforts.

10: And what Thou wilt yet do, and what (Thy) deeds were before these, and what the eyes may see through Vohu

82 The personified tribunal which judges the souls.

83 A simple beckoning of the Lord will suffice to place him in paradise.

84 Ahura Mazda.

85 God should direct the words of the prophet through inspiration.

86 The idea, that may God come to the help of the prophet when he praises Him, is expressed here poetically.

87 The prophet speaks to God in lofty, poetical language only, i.e., in the Gāthās.

Mano : the starlights, the sun, the rising day-star, (all) are for Your praise, O Asha, O Wise One.

- 11 : And Your praiser, O Wise One, would I call myself and be, so long as I have through Asha strength and power for it. The creator of life may achieve through Vohu Mano the realisation of that which is the most perfect according to His will.

Parts of the so-called Yasna of the Seven Chapters, which is mainly composed in prose, come from the time of the Gāthās. A specimen may be given out of it also.

PRAYER BEFORE THE FINAL JUDGMENT AND THE GREAT ORDEAL BY FIRE.

YASNA 36.

Through the work of this Fire do we come for the first time to Thee, O Wise Lord, to Thee through the Holiest Spirit,⁸⁸ which becomes harm, for him,⁸⁹ whom Thou wishest to bring to harm.⁹⁰

May this man⁹¹ most joyfully undergo the trial, O Fire, (Son) of the Wise Lord, with the joy of the most joyful and with the humility of the most humble shall the man undergo the most important of the acts.

As Fire of Ahura Mazda Thou art pleasant to us, as His Holiest Spirit thou art pleasant to us. Or with what is the most effective among thy names, O Fire of the Wise Lord, with it do we approach Thee.

⁸⁸ Fire and the Holy Spirit conduct together the Ordeal by fire, cf. 31, 3 ; 47, 6.

⁸⁹ For the unbeliever whom the fire burns in the ordeal.

⁹⁰ The tortures of hell.

⁹¹ The speaker.

- 4: We approach Thee with Good Mind, Thee with the true religion, Thee with the works and words of the good dogma.
- 5: We have a request, a claim to Thee, O Wise Lord, (for) we approach Thee with all good thoughts, all good words, and all good deeds.⁹²
- 6: And we mention unto Thee (our wishes:) the most beautiful body⁹³ of (all) the bodies, O Wise Lord, those (heavenly) lights⁹⁴ (and) the heighest of the heights whereby is meant the sun.

The Confession of Faith of the Zoroastrians comes similarly from very ancient time. It clearly shows how the new religion stood for better morality and a higher state of civilisation and how it tried to turn nomads into settled cultivators.

YASNA 12.

- 1: I disdain (to be) a Dev (worshipper), I declare myself as a Mazda-worshipper, as a Zarathushtrian, as an enemy of the Devs, as a follower of the Lord, as a praiser of the Immortal Holy Ones,⁹⁵ as a worshipper of the Immortal Holy Ones. To the Wise Lord do I promise all the good things, to Him, the Good, the Kind, the Just, the Splendid, the Glorious, all the best things; from Whom is the cow, from Whom the law, from Whom

⁹² For which Ormazd owes them a reward according to His promise.

⁹³ As a new body in paradise, cf. Yasna 51, 17.

⁹⁴ As the future abode, cf. Yasna 58, 6. "We would like to be shined upon by the stars of the Wise Lord (after death)." The praying one wishes to enter the region of light with his purified body.

⁹⁵ The so-called Amesha Spentas.

the (heavenly) lights; with Whose (heavenly) lights the pleasures (of bliss) are combined.⁹⁶

- 2 : I choose the holy, good Ārmaiti, let her be mine. I renounce theft and robbery of cattle, the plunder and destruction of the villages of the Mazda-worshippers.
- 3 : I grant free movement,⁹⁷ free living⁹⁷ to the inmates of the house (and) to the domestic animals with whom they live on earth. With due veneration do I promise this to Asha before consecrated (water) : from now onwards I will not commit plunder nor destruction in the villages of the Mazda-worshippers nor will I crave for [their] body and life.⁹⁸
- 4 : I renounce the company of the wicked, bad, lawless, and evil-doing Devs, the most deceitful, the most spoiled, the worst; of the Devs, of the followers of the Devs, of the sorcerers, of the followers of the sorcerers, of every wicked one whoever he may be, in thoughts, in words, in deeds, and in countenance, just as I hereby renounce the company of the damaging unbeliever.
- 5 : Just as the Wise Lord taught Zarathushtra in all the conferences, in all the meetings in which Mazda and Zarathushtra conferred,
- 6 : just as Zarathushtra renounced the company of the Devs in all the conferences, in all the meetings in which Mazda and Zarathushtra conferred, so also I, as a Mazda-worshipper and Zarathushtrian, renounce the company of the Devs, just as the true believer Zarathushtra renounced them.

96 Inasmuch as they are the place of paradise.

97 That is, the abolition of slavery.

98 Or (according to native tradition): not (too much) love for life and body, i.e., I will not offend against the commands out of extreme love for life.

- 7 : Of which faith are the waters,⁹⁹ of which faith are the plants,⁹⁹ of which faith is the useful cow, of which faith is the Wise Lord Who has created the cow and the true believing man, of which faith was Zarathushtra, of which faith [was] King Vishtāspa, of which faith [were] Frashaoshtra and Jāmāspa, of which faith is everyone of the accomplishing¹⁰⁰ and true believing saviours,¹⁰¹ of that faith and of that confession am I a Mazda-worshipper.
- 8 : I declare myself as a Mazda-worshipper, as a Zarathustrian, with vow and with confession. I promise well-thought thoughts, I promise well-spoken words, I promise well-performed deeds.
- 9 : I promise [to follow] the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, which unbuckles (the sword) and puts down the weapons and recommends next-of-kin marriage, which of all the present and the future (religions) is the loftiest, the best, and the most beautiful, which is of the Ahurian faith and Zarathustrian. I promise all the good things to the Wise Lord. This is the confession of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers.

THE GĀTHĀS IN THE LIGHT OF THE LATER AVESTA.

YASNA 55.

- 1 : We offer up all beings and bodies, bones [and] life and body and strength and consciousness and soul and Fravashi, and consecrate them, and we consecrate them unto the holy Gāthās that rule as lords,¹⁰² [and are] the true believers,¹⁰³

99 Considered as persons, cf. Yasht 13, 93.

100 Namely, the promised Kingdom of God.

101 That is, the future saviours.

102 *ratu*, spiritual chief and lord in the Zoroastrian system of the world.

103 Also the Gāthās, like all other religious terms, are considered as persons.

- 2: unto the Gāthās, which are our guard and protection and spiritual food, which are both food and clothing for our souls... May they bring us good reward, rich reward, the reward for the true faith¹⁰⁴ in the other world, after the body and consciousness are separated.
- 3: With their strength and victory, with health and healing means, with benediction and prosperity, with good conscience and healthy conscience,¹⁰⁵ with virtue and true belief, with merit and reward may the holy songs¹⁰⁶ appear before us, just as Mazda, the strongest, the victorious, the blesser of beings created them,—for the guarding of the creatures of Asha, for the protection of the beings of Asha, as well of those to whom bliss is brought as of those who will bring bliss, and for the whole¹⁰⁷ life of the true believer.
- 4: Mayest Thou load¹⁰⁸ with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds every true believer who comes to the Lord with this prayer and craves for pardon.

II. The Later Avesta.

AHURA MAZDA AND THE AMESHA SPENTAS (THE IMMORTAL HOLY ONES).

YASHT 13.

- 81: (Ahura Mazda) Whose white, bright, shining soul is the holy word, and the forms which He takes on

104 Or: justification.

105 Literally: with conscience which crosses (the Bridge of Judgment). The Gāthās are supposed to be guardian spirits in [one's] lifetime and after death, who safely escort the soul over the Bridge of Judgment into paradise to its due reward.

106 The oldest parts of the Avesta, to which the Gāthās belong.

107 For this and the other.

108 That is, credit in the heavenly account.

[are] the beautiful (forms) of the Immortal Holy Ones, the great (forms) of the Immortal Holy Ones.

.82: ... of the Immortal Holy Ones, [who are] splendid, with beneficent eyes, tall, extremely strong, brave, obedient to the Lord, [and] who are free from pain and true to Law;

83: which seven think the same, which seven speak the same, which seven do the same; whose is the same thought, the same word, the same deed, and the same father and commander, namely the Creator Ahura Mazda.

84: Out of whom one sees the soul of another, while it¹¹⁰ remembers good thoughts,¹⁰⁹ good words, good deeds, while it¹¹⁰ thinks of paradise; who have shining paths, when they hasten to the sacrifices.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ORMAZD AND AHRIMAN

YASHT 13.

77: When the Evil Spirit fell upon the creation of good Law (Asha), then stepped in Vohu Mano and Fire protecting it.

78: These two surmounted the assaults of the unbelieving Evil Spirit, so that he was no longer able to stop the waters from their flow, nor the plants from their growth. All at once the mightiest waters of the mighty creator and ruler, Ahura Mazda, flowed on and His plants grew up.

The Good Spirits (Angels, Yazata, Yezdān).

(A) MITHRA (CHANTEPIE⁴ II, p. 225 f.)

YASHT 10.

1: Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra:
"And when I created Mithra, of wide pastures, O

109 In the entrance-hall of Paradise, see below, note 240 etc.

110 The soul of the Amesha Spentas.

Spitamā, then I made him as much worthy of sacrifice and worship as I, Ahura Mazda, Myself am.”

- 2 : The Mithra-deceiver, the villain, destroys the whole country, O Spitamā, as much as a hundred heretics, so also a murderer of a true believer. Thou shalt not break the contract¹¹¹ (Mithra), neither that which thou wilt stipulate with an unbeliever, nor that with a true believer of thy own religion, O Spitamā. For the contract (Mithra) holds good for the both, for the unbeliever and for the true believer.
- 13 : Who as the first spiritual Yazata comes over the Harā,¹¹² even before the immortal sun, having the swift horses; who first ascends the gold coloured beautiful summits, and from there the mightiest one surveys the whole Aryan country.
- 50 : For whom the creator Ahura Mazda built a house on the high Harā which is much traversed¹¹³ and shining, in which there is neither night nor darkness, neither cold nor hot wind, neither fatal sickness nor infection caused by the Devs, nor do the clouds rise up from the high Haraiti.
- 51 : Which (house) all the Immortal Holy Ones, combined with the sun, have made, openly adhering to him, convinced in heart, out of confidence and inner conviction; [for him] who surveys the whole corporeal world from the Haraiti mountain.
- 52 : And when the wicked one (Ahriman) rushes forth, the evil-doer of quick pace, then Mithra, the lord of wide

111 This is the real meaning of the word Mithra.

112 The Elburz mountain-chain. According to the mythical notion of the Avesta the Harā (or Haraiti) surrounds the whole world and reaches up to heaven.

113 Around the Harā move the sun, moon, and stars (Yasht 12, 25).

pastures, yokes his swift chariot, and Sraosha the friend of law, the mighty, and Nairyosanha¹¹⁴ the....., and he smites him in battle or in single combat.

125: Four white horses of the same colour, having only heavenly food, immortal.....draw this chariot.

126: At his right side drives Rashnu,¹¹⁵ the most just, the holiest, the most pressing (?); and at his left side the true Doctrine,¹¹⁶ bringing offerings, lawful,—the white one puts on white clothes—, (and) the anathema of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers.

127: After him drives the strong anathema¹¹⁷ of the Creator¹¹⁸ in the shape of a boar, offering resistance, with sharp tusks, with sharp bristles, a male boar killing at one stroke, unassailable, furious, with a dripping face, strong, ready to fight, rushing all around...

68: Whose chariot the good, lofty Ashi¹¹⁹ drives; for whom the religion of the Mazda-worshippers prepares the paths for good journey; whom the heavenly horses, white, shining, seen afar, holy, endowed with knowledge, shadowless, obeying the will, drive, while the anathema of the Creator makes the line clear for him. Before whom all the spiritual Devs and unbelievers of Varena¹²⁰ tremble.

69: May we not come in the attack of the angry lord, whose thousand attacks fall upon the enemy, he who has ten thousand spies, the strong, all-knowing, undeceivable.

114 The messenger of Ormazd.

115 The angel of justice and the judge at the Bridge of the souls.

116 Personified.

117 Against Ahriman and the unbelievers.

118 cf. Yasna 45, 2 and 19, 15.

119 The genius of the worldly reward of the true believers.

120 A district in Media.

- 44: Who has a house as wide as the earth, built in the corporeal world, large, unconfined, bright, wide and inhabited by dear helpmates.
- 45: Whose devoted helpmates sit on all the battlements and at all the windows as the spies of Mithra, looking out for the Mithra-deceiver,¹²¹ watching them, noticing them who first deceive Mithra, and guarding the ways of those against whom the Mithra-deceivers have plotted and [also] the unbelievers, who murder the real true believer.
- 46: A helper, a protector, a protector from behind, a protector in front, a spy and a watcher becomes Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, willingly for him to whom he comes for help out of inner conviction, he who has ten thousand spies etc.
- 18: But if a master of the house lies unto him, or a lord of the clan, or a lord of the district, or a lord of the country, then the enraged, hostile Mithra destroys further and further the house and the clan and the district and the country and the masters of the houses and the lords of the clans and the lords of the districts and the lords of the countries and the authorities of the countries.
- 37: Upon them he can bring down distress and fear. He chops off the heads of the Mithra-deceiving people, he sweeps away the heads of the Mithra-deceiving people.
- 38: Horribly will the habitations be looted, uninhabited will be made the houses, in which the Mithra-deceivers live.....
- 84: [.....] Whom also the poor man of the true faith, when deprived of his right, urgently invokes for help with uplifted hands,

121 That is, especially for him who breaks contracts.

- 85: whose¹²² voice, when he complains, reaches up to the heavenly lights, spreads itself over this earth and penetrates the seven regions of the earth, whether he raises his voice in humility or aloud.
- 86: Whom the captive, driven away (cow), who longs again for her herd, urgently invokes for help with uplifted hands¹²³: When will our bull bring back the herd, driving behind, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures? When will he bring us on the right path, us who are driven into the house of Falsehood?
- 87: And with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, is satisfied, to him does he come for help, and to whom he is hostile, his house and clan and district and country and ruling power does he destroy.
- 79: To whom Rashnu,¹²⁴ when he built a house for himself, offered family friendship for permanent company:
- 80: "Thou art a guard of the house, a protector of those who do not lie. Thou art a guard of the district, thou art a protector of those who do not lie. For through thee do I gain the best alliance and the God-given victory."—Before whom the Mithra-deceiving people lie there in large numbers smitten at the court of God.

(B) SRAOSHA (CHANTEPIE⁴ II, p. 224 f.)

YASNA 57.

- 10: Who builds a strong house for the poor man and poor woman after the setting of the sun; who smites Aeshma¹²⁵ a bloody blow with a hurling down weapon

122 Of the poor man.

123 Probably an unsuitable gloss.

124 See note 115.

125 Cf. note 6.

and smiting hard on the skull puts him to flight, just as the strong one does the weak one.

- 16: Who without falling asleep and vigilantly guards the creatures of Mazda, who watches the whole corporeal life with uplifted weapon after the setting of the sun.
- 17: Who has not slept ever since the two Spirits, the Holy Spirit and Evil one, created the creatures, he, the protector of the living beings of Asha, who fights with the Devs of Māzenderān all days and nights.
- 18: He does not flee away, horrified through fear, from the Devs; from him all the Devs being horrified flee away against their will, and being horrified run away to hell.¹²⁶
- 23: Through whose strength and victory and companionship and wisdom the Immortal Holy Ones came down upon the earth of the seven regions. Who as the teacher of religion visits the corporeal world at will.

(C) ARDVĪ SŪRA ANĀHITĀ (THE GENIUS AND THE ORIGINAL SOURCE OF WATER, CHANTEPIE,⁴ II, p. 228).

YASHT 5.

- 1: Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra: Adore, O Spitama Zarathushtra, my Ardvī, the strong, pure, flowing in wide stream, wholesome, anti-Devs, of Ahurian faith, whom the corporeal world owes sacrifice, whom the corporeal world owes praise, feeder of sources (?), of the true faith, furtherer of herds, of the true faith, furtherer of the living beings, of the true faith, furtherer of the pastures, of the true faith, furtherer of the countries, of the true faith,
- 2: Who prepares the seed of all males, who prepares

¹²⁶ Literally: darkness.

the womb of all females for bringing forth, who helps all females to give birth easily, who brings proper, timely milk to all females.

3: The great, far-famed one who is as great as all the waters that flow on earth, who streams forth powerfully from the mountain Hukairya to the sea Vourukasha.¹²⁷

4: All the shores of the sea Vourukasha surge, the whole middle of it surges, when she flows down, when the strong, pure Ardvī falls into it; which (sea) has a thousand channels and a thousand outlets, and each of these channels and each of these outlets is as long as forty days' journey for a well-mounted horseman.

5: From this single water(-source) of mine branches out an outlet over all the seven regions of the earth; from this single water(-source) of mine flows forth (the outlet) regularly in summer and in winter. She prepares my waters,¹²⁸ she the seed of males, she the womb of females, she the milk of females.

101: [.] In each of the outlets there stands a well-built house with a hundred windows, shining, with a thousand pillars, well-furnished, with ten thousand balconies, well (supported).

102: In each of the houses she rests on a covered, well-scented, padded couch. There hastens, O Zarathushtra, the strong, pure Ardvī, high as the height of a thousand men. She possesses as much glory as all the waters (together), that flow on earth....

126: Who lets herself recognise, she, the strong, pure Ardvī in the shape of a beautiful maiden, very strong, of beautiful face,¹²⁹ high girded....., born of a noble race, wearing a...garment, richly embroidered, golden.

127 A half-mythical sea which was considered as reservoir of all waters. 128° That is, she fills springs and rivers. 129° Or : growth,

- 127: Ever holding the Barsom-tw¹³⁰ in her hand according to the rule, adorned with square, golden ear-rings, the noble, strong, pure Ardvi wears a jewel on her beautiful necklace [thus here, in the first edition 'neck' as others]. She girded her waist, so that her breasts may be well-shaped and...
- 128: The strong, pure Ardvi tied above on [the head] a crown, a golden one with a hundred stars (?), with eight notches (?), in the shape of a wheel with fluttering fillets a beautiful... well-shaped.
- 129: The strong, pure Ardvi wears a garment of beaver's fur, [of fur] of three hundred beavers which have brought forth four young ones, for then the beaver is the most beautiful, inasmuch as it has the most beautiful colour...

(D) THE FRAVASHIS OR THE GUARDING ANGELS
(CHANTEPIE⁴ II, p. 229).

YASHT 13.

- 1: Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathushtra :
Thus I will proclaim unto thee the vigour and strength,
the glory, the help and support of the strong, superior
Guarding Angels of the true believers, O righteous
Spitama, how they came to Me for help, how they brought
assistance to Me, the strong Guarding Angels of the true
believers.
- 2: Through their splendour and glory, did I fix, O Zarathushtra, that sky which is there above, shining and seen afar, which reaches up to this earth and encompasses it just as a house,—which (sky) stands there, prepared by Spirits, firmly fixed, widely delimited, with a body of

¹³⁰ A bundle of twigs which the priests hold during the liturgy, cf. Strabo 733,

polished (?) steel, shining over the three-thirds (of the earth);

- .3: which Mazda puts on as His garment, adorned with stars, prepared by the Spirits,—He in company of Mithra and Rashnu and holy Ārmaiti, from which (sky) one does not see the ends at any side.

- 9: Through their splendour and glory did I fix, O Zarathustra, the wide, God-created earth, the large and expanded, the bearer of much that is good, which bears the whole corporeal world, the living and the dead, and the high mountains, rich in pastures and water.—

- 12: For if the strong Guarding Angels of the true believers had not given me assistance, then there would not have been here¹³¹ animal and man that are the best of their kinds. Lie¹³² would have had the power, Lie the dominion, to Lie would have belonged the corporeal world.

- 13: Between the earth and the sky the Lying one of the two Spirits¹³³ would have got a footing, between the earth and the sky the Lying one of the two Spirits would have been victorious. Afterwards the victorious Ahriman would never have given way to the defeated Holy Spirit.¹³⁴—

- 17: They bring the most of support in furious battles, they, the Guarding Angels of the true believers. Those Guarding Angels of the true believers are the strongest, O Spitama, that belong to the first prophets, or those of the not yet born men, of the future saviours, who will make the world perfect. And the Guarding Angels of the other living true believing men are stronger, O Zarathustra, than those of the dead, O Spitama.

131 On earth.

132 The female Satan.

133 Ahriman.

134 Ormazd.

- 69: And when the despotic ruler of a country is on his guard against hostile opponents, then even he invokes the strong Guarding Angels of the true believers.
- 70: They will come to his help, when they are not ill-disposed to him, when they are satisfied, not insulted, not hostile, they the strong Guarding Angels of the true believers. They fly down to him just as a well-winged bird.
- 71: They become for him a weapon and a shield, an attack and a defence against the spiritual Lie¹³⁵ and against the unbelievers¹³⁶ of Varena and against the false-teacher and against the all-destroying, unbelieving Ahriman, as if a man would thresh a hundred and a thousand and ten thousand ears of corn.¹³⁷
- 25: Who come most preferably there, where the true believing men are most devoted to the true faith.
- 53: Who show beautiful paths to the Mazda-created waters, which stood still before,—though created but not flowing—, on one and the same spot for a long time.
- 54: And henceforth they flow along the path made by Mazda, in the bed, rich in water, ordained and fixed by God, for the pleasure of Ahura Mazda, for the pleasure of the Immortal Holy Ones.
- 55: Who show beautiful growth to the fruit-bearing plants, which stood still before,—though created but not growing up—, on one and the same spot for a long time.
- 56: And henceforth they grow up along the path made by Mazda, on the place ordained by God, in the fixed time, at the wish etc.

135 cf. note 132.

136 The Antichrist of the Zarathushtrian church.

137 Or: decrepit persons, according to the variant.

- 57: Who showed the regular paths to the stars, the moon, the sun, and the lights without a beginning, which long stood still before on one and the same spot, without moving (from fear) of the opposition of the Devs, from the assaults of the Devs.
- 58: And henceforth they move about, till they will reach the far-lying solstitial-point of their path through the good completion.¹³⁸
- 65: And when the waters rise,¹³⁹ O Spitama Zarathushtra, from the sea Vourukasha, and the glory (splendour)¹⁴⁰ created by Mazda, then start the strong Guarding Angels of the true believers, many many hundreds, many many thousands, many many ten thousands,
- 66: demanding water, every (Fravashi) for her own kinsfolk, for her own clan, for her own district, for her own country, saying thus: "Our own country will be in distress and drought."
- 67: They fight in (regular) battles¹⁴¹ for their place and land, as (each one) possessed¹⁴² place and house for living in, just as a gallant warrior, ready to fight and watchful, offers resistance for his well-earned property.
- 68: And those of them who win carry away the water, each one for her own kinsfolk, for her own clan, for her own district, for her own country, speaking thus: "May our own country attain growth and prosperity."
- 49: Who hasten here from their clan at the time of Hamaspathmaedaya.¹⁴³ Then they move about there

138 The perfection of the world, when the time comes.

139 In the rainy season.

140 Which, according to Yasht 19, 51, rests in the sea Vourukasha.

141 On this occasion for water.

142 During the life-time.

143 The last ten days of the year and the festival of the new year celebrated during them.

for full ten days desiring to know this :

50: "Who will praise us, who will offer, who will invoke us, who will satisfy us, who will welcome us with meat¹⁴⁴ in the hand, with clothes in the hand, and with prayer, through which one attains the (reward of) Asha? By whom will our name be called now, by whom will your souls¹⁴⁵ be worshipped? Upon whom will this gift be bestowed, so that there may be inexhaustible food for him for all eternity?"

51: And he who worships them with meat in the hand, with clothes in the hand, with prayer, through which one attains the (reward of) Asha, him bless they, satisfied, not offended, not hostile, the strong Guarding Angels of the true believers:

52: "May there be in this house a herd of animals and a legion of sons, may there be a swift horse and a solid chariot, may there be a steady (?) man, wise in counsel, who will properly worship us with meat in the hand, with clothes in the hand, and with prayer, through which one attains the (reward of) Asha."

(E) HAOMA, THE IRANIAN SOMA (CHANTEPIE⁴ II, p. 237).

THE FIRST DRINKERS OF HAOMA.

YASNA 9.

1: At the time of morning Haoma approached Zarathushtra, who was arranging the fire and was chanting the Gāthās. Him asked Zarathushtra: "Who art thou, O Man, whom I have seen as the most beautiful one

144 Or: milk, as offering.

145 Inexact for the Fravashi. Every pious soul has one Fravashi of its own, cf. Yasna 1, 18. According to Yasna 71, 23 the Fravashi themselves are the souls of the departed.

out of the whole corporeal world in my excellent immortal life?"

2: Thereupon Haoma, of the true faith, the averter of death, replied unto me: "I am, O Zarathushtra, Haoma, of the true faith, the averter of death. Gather me, O Spitama, prepare me for drink, sing for praising me as also the future saviours will praise me."

3: Thereupon spake Zarathushtra: "Homage unto Haoma! Which mortal as the first of the corporeal world prepared thee? Which lot was bestowed upon him, which boon was allotted unto him?"

4: Thereupon this Haoma, of the true faith, the averter of death, replied unto me: "Vivāhvā was the first mortal of the corporeal world, who prepared me. This lot was bestowed upon him, this boon was allotted unto him, that Yima was born to him as son, the splendid, the good shepherd (of people), the most glorious among the born ones, who among the mortals possessed the sun-eye¹⁴⁶ so that he made, through his rule, man and animal undying, water and plants non-decaying, so that one ate inexhaustible food.

5: In the reign of lord Yima there was neither cold nor heat, neither old age nor death, nor envy created by the Devs. (Like) those of fifteen years in appearance moved about both, father and son, as long as the good shepherd of people, Yima, the son of Vivāhvat, reigned.

6: "Which mortal as the second" etc.?

7: Thereupon this Haoma, of the true faith, the averter of death, replied unto me: "Āthwya was the second mortal etc., that Thraetaona was born to him as (heir and) son of his powerful clan,

8: who killed the dragon Dahāka, having three jaws,

146 The same idea as in India.

three skulls, six eyes and a thousand organs of perception, the very strong, devilish monster,¹⁴⁷ who was disastrous for the creatures, the unbelieving one whom the very strong devil Ahriman had created against the corporeal world for the destruction of the creatures of the true faith."

9: "Which mortal as the third" etc. ?

10: Thereupon this Haoma, of the true faith, the averter of death, replied unto me : "Thrita, the most powerful of the Sāmas,¹⁴⁸ was the third mortal etc., that two sons were born to him : Urvākhshaya and Keresāspa; the one a teacher and lawgiver, and the other a superior, curly-haired, mace-bearing youth,

11: who killed the dragon Sruvara who was horse-devouring and man-devouring, poisonous, greenish, on whom flew the poison as thick as shaft (?) and green, on whom Keresāspa cooked his food in an iron pot at the time of midday. Then that miscreant¹⁴⁹ grew hot and sweated. He sprang forward against the iron pot, so that he upset the boiling water. The manly-minded Keresāspa being frightened jumped off backwards".¹⁵⁰

12: "Which mortal as the fourth" etc. ?

13: Thereupon this Haoma, of the true faith, the averter of death, replied unto me : "Pourushaspa was the fourth mortal etc. that thou wast born to him, thou righteous Zarathushtra, from the house of Pourushaspa, an enemy of Devs, and a follower of Ahurian law.

14: Famous in Airyana Vacjah¹⁵¹ thou, O Zarathushtra!

147 Literally: lie.

148 An old race or family of heroes in Seistān.

149 Dragon.

150 He noticed only now that he was cooking his food on the dragon. A well-known mythical theme.

151 The Holy Land of the Zoroastrians, perhaps the province Arran, N. W. of Media.

as the first, chanted the Ahuna Vairya¹⁵² with four-fold repetition, every following time with stronger voice.

- 15: Thou, O Zarathushtra, caused all the Devs to hide under the earth, who before this ran about upon this earth with human faces; thou who art the strongest, the bravest, the most ardent, the most agile, the most victorious, among the creatures of the two Spirits."

HYMNS FOR THE HAOMA SERVICE.

YASNA 10.

- 1: Away from here¹⁵³ may the Devs pack off, away from here the worshippers of the Devs; may the good Sraosha stay, may the good Ashi be a guest here, may the good Ashi rest here in this house which is dedicated to the lord and to Haoma who strengthens the true faith.
- 2: The lower part of Thy press¹⁵⁴ do I praise with words, O Wise One, which contains the twigs. The upper part of Thy press¹⁵⁵ do I praise with words, O Wise One, upon which I strike with manly strength.
- 3: I praise the cloud and the water which cause to increase thy body on the heights of mountains. I praise the high mountains upon which thou, O Haoma, hast grown up.
- 4: I praise the broad, widespread, conscientious, good earth, thy mother, O Haoma of the true faith. I praise the track of the earth where thou growest as a fragrant lord and as a good plant of Mazda...
- 6: The Haoma grows when one praises him, and the man who praises him becomes thereby victorious. Even

152 The most holy formula of the Avesta, see above.

153 Quite similar is the exorcism in Vājasaneyisaṃhitā 35, 1.

154 The mortar or the lower board.

155 The pestle or the upper board.

the least preparation, O Haoma, even the least praise, O Haoma, even the least drinking, O Haoma, turns a thousand Devs into destruction.

- 7: With one stroke does the bewitched pollution disappear from this house, where one properly fetches and properly praises the obvious health and healing power of the healing Haoma. And for his¹⁵⁶ clan there will be a hospitable house.
- 8: For, all other intoxications are accompanied with Anger (Aeshma), having the bloody weapon, but the intoxication of Haoma is accompanied with friendly Asha. The intoxication of Haoma makes one nimble.—The mortal who praises Haoma as a young son, for their bodies Haoma becomes medicine.
- 9: O Haoma, give me out of those medicines through which thou art a healer; O Haoma, give me out of that victory through which thou art a surmounter of enemies. As praiser I will be thy friend. Ahura Mazda said that He would make the praiser a better friend than Asha Vahishta.¹⁵⁷
- 10: Thee, the lord created by the Creator, did an ingenious God shape, thee, the lord created by the Creator, did an ingenious God plant on the High Haraiti,¹⁵⁸
- 11: and holy instructed birds spread thee there in all directions...
- 12: And on these mountains dost thou grow in many kinds as Haoma, full of milk and of golden colour. Thy wholesome drinks make one worthy of the gift of grace of Vohu Mano...¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Of the sacrificer. cf. R[ig-] V[eda] 9, 86, 15.

¹⁵⁷ One of the angels, the confidants of Ormazd.

¹⁵⁸ See note 112.

¹⁵⁹ Sep Yasna 43, 2.

- 13: Honour unto Haoma, for he makes the mind of the poor as great as that of the richest of all! Honour unto Haoma, for he makes the mind of the poor so great, as if he attained to the fulfilment of (all) wishes. Thou makest him possessor of many men, holy and wise, who, O Golden Haoma, distributes thee much, when thou art mixed with milk.
- 14: Do not run violently into my heart like an ox-goad¹⁶⁰; may thy intoxication¹⁶¹ come fully, may it come waking up the conscience. To thee, O Haoma, of the true faith, [and] who strengthens the true faith, do I dedicate this my body which appears to me beautiful.¹⁶²

THE HAOMA WHICH IS NOT DRUNK.¹⁶³

YASNA 11.

- 1: Three really pious beings curse in imprecatory words: the cow, the horse, and Haoma. The cow curses him who should offer¹⁶⁴ it:¹⁶⁵ "Mayest thou be childless, and accompanied with evil repute, thou, who dost not present¹⁶⁶ me,¹⁶⁵ when I am cooked, but lets me be curdled for thy wife or thy son or thy own belly."
- 2: The horse curses him who should ride it: "Mayest thou not yoke race-horses, mayest thou not ride race-horses, mayest thou not drive race-horses, thou, who dost not demand any feat of strength from me in the large throng of race-course visited by men."

160 The same idea in R[ig.] V[eda] 8, 79, 8.

161 As enlightenment and inspiration.

162 That is, becomes transfigured or glorified through the ecstasy of Soma.

163 cf. the similar idea in R[ig.] V[eda] 7, 26, 1.

164 But instead of that uses it only for his own purpose.

165 That is, milk.

166 To the priests at the sacrifice.

- 3: Haoma curses him who should drink him : " Mayest thou be childless, and accompanied with evil repute, thou, who keepest me, when I am prepared, in custody like a thief who pays (for his sin) with his head. I am not one who pays (for his sin) with his head, I who am Haoma, of the true faith, the averter of death.' "

(F) FIRE.

YASNA 62.

- 7: The Fire of Ahura Mazda brings a good doctrine¹⁶⁷ unto all, for whom he cooks supper and breakfast. From all he desires good care, wished-for care, loving care, O Spitama.
- 8: The Fire looks at the hands of all passers-by : " What does the friend bring to the friend, the moving one to the still sitting one ? "
- 9: And if he brings unto him fuel, brought with the desire for good deeds, or bundled Barsman, brought with the desire for good deeds, or the herb Hadhānā-pata,¹⁶⁸ then the fire of Ahura Mazda, pleased [and] not depressed, wishes him satisfied conscience :
- 10: May a herd of cows and a great number of sons be allotted to thee, may an active mind and an active conscience be allotted to thee. Mayest thou live thy life with joyous conscience all the nights that thou wilt live ! " This is the blessing of the Fire for him who brings unto him fuel, dry, stored up in the light of heaven (in open space), purified with the desire for good deeds.

167 The following paragraphs contain the good doctrine.

168 The pomegranate tree.

YIMA,¹⁶⁹ THE GOLDEN AGE, THE DELUGE, AND THE VARA.
VENDĪDĀD 2.¹⁷⁰

Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: "Ahura Mazda, Holiest Spirit, Creator of the corporeal beings, of the true faith! With whom out of the people didst Thou, Ahura Mazda, first converse besides me, Zarathushtra? Whom didst Thou first teach the Ahurian, Zarathushtrian religion?"

Thereupon answered Ahura Mazda: "With handsome Yima, the good shepherd, O true believing Zarathushtra. With him out of the people did I, Ahura Mazda, first converse, besides thee, Zarathushtra; him did I teach the Ahurian, Zarathushtrian religion.

And unto him, O Zarathushtra, I, Ahura Mazda, spake: 'Handsome Yima, son of Vivānhvat, be thou observer and spreader of my religion!' And that handsome Yima answered Me, O Zarathushtra: 'I am not qualified and taught as an observer and spreader of religion.'

Thereupon spake I, Ahura Mazda, unto him, O Zarathushtra: 'If thou, O Yima, dost not like to become for me an observer and spreader of My religion, then further My creatures, then increase My creatures, then be a patron, protector and guard of My creatures.'

Thereupon that handsome Yima answered Me, O Zarathushtra: 'I will further Thy creatures, I will increase Thy creatures, I will be a patron, protector and

169 Whereas Yima is the king of the dead in Indian mythology, Yima is the ideal of a worldly king of olden times in Iranian mythology. The legends of these two differ very much from each other, yet certain common fundamental points are still clearly visible.

170 The chapter is based upon a piece of Iranian epic. The adapter has expended it with prose passages, but he betrays therein his great weakness in grammar.

guard of Thy creatures. In my kingdom there shall be neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither sickness nor death.'

6: And I, Ahura Mazda, handed over to him two implements: a golden staff and an ox-goad inlaid with gold.

7: Yima now bears both the royal (insignia).¹⁷¹

8: And three hundred years passed away over Yima's sway. And the earth was full of small cattle and large cattle and men and dogs and birds and red blazing fire. Small cattle and large cattle and men found no more room.

9: And I informed Yima: 'O handsome Yima, son of Vivāhvāt, this earth has become full of small cattle and large cattle' etc.

10: Thereupon Yima went southwards following the stars and towards the path of the sun.¹⁷² He pushed forth this earth with the golden staff and touched it with the ox-goad, thus speaking: 'Dear, holy Armaiti, go forward, spread out thyself, thou bearer¹⁷³ of small cattle and large cattle and men!'

11: And Yima expanded this earth one-third larger than before. Small cattle and large cattle and men obtained an abode according to their wish and liking."

(12-19: The same thing repeats itself after 600 and 900 years of his reign.)

20: The creator Ahura Mazda held a meeting with the spiritual angels, famous in Airyana Vaejah¹⁷⁴ at the good Dāityā.

171 The staff and the ox-goad; *the former as symbol of the king, the latter as symbol of the shepherd.

172 During the day he finds his direction with the help of the sun, and in the night with that of the stars.

173 cf. Yasht 13, 9.

174 See note 151.

21: To¹⁷⁵ this meeting came Yima, the splendid, the good shepherd, with the best of men, famous in Airyana Vaejah at the good Dāityā.

22: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda to Yima: 'Handsome Yima, son of Vivanhvat, on the evil corporeal world are to come winters, whereby there will be severe, rigid frost. On the evil corporeal world are to come winters, whereby great snow-fall will pour out snow from the highest mountains in the intensity of the Ardvi.¹⁷⁶

23: And from three places, O Yima, the cattle will go away, which is in the most dangerous places,¹⁷⁷ which is on the tops of the mountains, and which is in the depths of the valleys, and it will (take refuge) in solid houses.

24: Before this winter the country bore pasture. This will the great quantity of water drift away after the melting of the snow. And the corporeal world will appear without any trace there, O Yima, where one now sees the footprint of small cattle.

25: Therefore make the secluded room (Vara),¹⁷⁸ as long as a race-course on all the four sides. Thither bring a race of small cattle and large cattle and men and dogs

175 Before this are interpolated two sentences which give a meaningless imitation of the preceding ones.

176 cf. Yasht 5, 1.

177 Namely, in unprotected plains and steppes.

178 The Vara of Yima was situated in Airān Vej beneath the earth according to Bund[ahish] 32, 5, Mainog i Khirad 62, 15. It was a world, a nether world, in miniature. In that case alone the last passage on the peculiar light becomes intelligible. *Vara* is of course = *vala* of the Veda, but in other sense than Hertel (Indo-iran[ische] Quellen u[nd] Forsch[ungen] II, 19) takes it. Here the golden age of Yima is continued on a small scale, beneath the earth and free from dreary winter with much snow, for the preservation of the Aryan race. How long is not mentioned.

and birds and red blazing fires. And make the Vara as long as a race-course on all the four sides for the inhabiting of men, as long as a race-course on all the four sides for the stabling of cattle.

- 26: Thither conduct water along the track as long as a mile.¹⁷⁹ There lay out meadows <along with ever golden coloured and for the eater ever inexhaustible (fruits) >. There build houses, and cellars, balconies, entrance halls and garden-walls.¹⁸⁰
- 27: Thither bring the race of all the men and women that are the greatest and best and most beautiful on earth. Thither bring a race of all the kinds of animals that are the greatest and best and most beautiful on earth.
- 28: Thither bring the seeds of all the plants that are the highest and most fragrant on earth. Thither bring the seeds of all the fruits that are the most tasteful and most fragrant on earth. And see that they couple without becoming extinct, as long as these people will be in the Varas.¹⁸¹
- 29: There shall be none bulged forward, nor a hump-backed, nor senility, nor infirmity; nor poverty, nor deceit, nor smallness, nor deformity, nor bad teeth, nor leprosy which makes one to be isolated, nor any other of the marks which are stamped on man as Ahriman's marks.
- 30: Make nine entrances in the best part of the country,¹⁸² six in the middle one, three in the lowest one.

179 The Iranian mile (*hāthra*) is supposed to be a half of the race-course.

180 That is, elegant houses.

181 We have to correct the reading into *varaēshva*. The plural refers to the several parts of the Vara.

182 The country is the one that was inhabited till now, mentioned in 24, and not the Vara. The best part is the most prosperous and thickly populated.

In the best one bring the race of a thousand men and women at the entrances, in the middle one six hundred, in the lowest one three hundred. And drive them with the golden staff into the Vara,¹⁸³ and shut the Vara, the door and the window, which has its own light on the innerside.

- 31: And Yima thought: 'How shall I make for thee the Vara, about which Ahura Mazda has told me?' Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: 'Handsome Yima, son of Vivanhvat, crush the earth with the heels and knead it with the hands, just as even now the people dissolve the earth by soaking it.'¹⁸⁴
- 32: And Yima did just as Ahura Mazda had bid him etc.
- 39: "O Creator! Which are the lights that give light in that Vara which Yima made?"
- 40: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: "Natural and artificial¹⁸⁵ lights. For only once (in the year) one sees the sun, the moon and the stars (disappear) in the void and (again) appear (?)¹⁸⁶.
- 41: And they take it for one day what is one year. Every forty years two people are born from two people, a pair, a male and a female. And even so from these animal species. And these people live the best life in these Varas which Yima has made."

183 Read *varem shva* : the verb *aiuri shu* belongs to the staff.

184 This entirely inadequate information is moreover quite obscure. The Creator perhaps wants to say : as one digs a cellar now-a-days. It is doubtful whether the potter and the preparation of loam are meant.* The brick-layer is more likely.

185 The artificial ones are fires, the natural ones are the heavenly lights mentioned there.

186 The whole sentence is obscure.

THE PROPHET ZARATHUSHTRA.

YASHT 13.

- 88: (To Zarathushtra) who first thought what is good, who first spoke what is good, who first did what is good, to the first priest, to the first warrior, to the first cattle-breeder, to the first revealer, to the first who received revelation, to the first who received as reward and allotted the cow and (the reward of) Asha¹⁸⁷ and the word¹⁸⁸ and the listening to the word and the Kingdom (of God) and all the good things created by Mazda, the origin of which is the true faith.
- 89: Who was the first priest, the first warrior, the first cattle-breeder, who first turned away his face¹⁸⁹ from the devilish and human rabble, who as the first in the corporeal world praised Law and renounced¹⁹⁰ to be a Dev (worshipper) and confessed to be a Mazda-worshipper, a Zoroastrian, an opponent of the Devs and a follower of Ahurian doctrine.
- 90: Who as the first in the corporeal world pronounced the word against the Devs which contains the doctrine of Ahura; who as the first in the corporeal world preached the word against the Devs which contains the doctrine of Ahura; who as the first in the corporeal world declared the whole Devism as unworthy of sacrifice and prayer; who became the strong bestower of all the happiness of life, the first prophet of the (Iranian) countries.
- 91: From whom one heard everywhere the word of Law, containing the whole revelation; he, the lord and master.

187 Or: justification in the court.

188 That is, the gift of right words.

189 Or according to the variant; turned the wheel (of dominion).

190 See Yasna 12, 1.

of the living beings, the praiser of the true faith, of the greatest, the best and the finest; he, the questioner¹⁹¹ of the religion which is the best of all.

92: Whom all the Immortal Holy Ones in one accord with the sun, with loud confession and convinced in heart, out of faith and inner conviction, desired to be the lord and teacher of the living beings, to be the praiser of the true faith etc.

93: At whose birth and growth water and plants rejoiced, at whose birth and growth all the creations created by the Holy (Spirit) congratulated themselves :

94: "Hail to us! the priest Spitama Zarathushtra is born, Zarathushtra will adore us with offerings and with bundled Barsom. From now onwards the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers will spread itself in all the seven regions of the earth."

YASHT 19.

79: We adore the powerful, royal glory¹⁹²...., which passed over to true believing Zarathushtra, so that he thought according to the religion, spoke according to the religion, and did according to the religion; so that he was the most true believing in the true faith, the most powerful in power, the most splendid in splendour, the most glorious in glory, the most victorious in victory.

80: The Devs used to move about openly before..., the Devs used to carry away openly the wives from the mortals and to inflict violence on the weeping and wailing ones.

81: And the single Ahuna-Vairya¹⁹³ prayer, which true

¹⁹¹ cf. Yasna 12, 5.

¹⁹² The exterior glory and inner enlightenment of extraordinary persons.

¹⁹³ See above.

believing Zarathushtra recited with fourfold repetition, with stronger voice every following time, drove back all the Devs, who are unworthy of sacrifice and prayer, so that they concealed themselves beneath the earth.

. YASHT 17.

- 19: At whose birth and growth Ahriman ran away from the extensive, round, widely delimited earth. Thus spake he, the miscreant Ahriman, full of death: All the Angels did not force me away against my will, but one Zarathushtra drives me away against my will.
- 20: He hits me with the Ahuna-Vairya, as great a weapon as a stone in the height of a house. He burns me with the Asha Vahishta¹⁹⁴ just as melted metal. He achieves by far the best my flight from this earth, he who drives me away quite alone, he, Spitama Zarathushtra.

ZARATHUSHTRA'S TRIAL AND TEMPTATION.¹⁹⁵

VENDĪDĀD 19.

- 1: From the northern direction, from the northern directions came Ahriman, full of death, the arch-Dev, running. Thus spake the miscreant Ahriman, full of death: "Druj, set out; die, O true believing Zarathushtra!" Druj sneaked around him, [so also] the Dev Buiti¹⁹⁶, the sneaking Destruction¹⁹⁷, the.....
- 2: Zarathushtra recited the Ahuna-Vairya. He adored the good waters of the good Dāityā¹⁹⁸, he recited the confession of faith of the religion of the Mazda-wor-

¹⁹⁴ Similarly a prayer that is considered especially holy.

¹⁹⁵ A fragment from the legend of Zarathushtra in clumsy, later adaptation.

¹⁹⁶ The demon of idol-worship.

¹⁹⁷ Unbelief, according to Vend. 18, 8-9.

¹⁹⁸ Probably the river Araxes.

shippers. Druj broke down and ran away, (so also) the Dev Buiti, the sneaking destruction, the.....

3: Druj informed him¹⁹⁹: "O thou demolisher, Ahriman, I do not find (any means for) the death of Spitama Zarathushtra. Too glorious is true believing Zarathushtra." Zarathushtra perceived in his mind: The unbelieving wicked Devs consult over my death.

4: Up stood Zarathushtra, forward went Zarathushtra, undaunted through the Evil Spirit, through the difficulty of his puzzling questions, holding stones in the hand²⁰⁰—they are as great as a house—, which he had received from the Creator Ahura Mazda. "Whither²⁰¹ on this earth, [which is] extensive, round, widely delimited, dost thou carry them which should be fixed on the . . . of the house of Pourushaspa?"

5: Zarathushtra explained to Ahriman: "O thou miscreant Ahriman, I will smite the creation created by the Devs, I will smite the corpse-ghost created by the Devs, I will smite the Pairikā Khnāthaiti, till the future saviour "Victorious"²⁰² will be born from the lake Kāsava²⁰³ from the eastern direction (of Iran), from the eastern directions."

6: Unto him replied the evil creator Ahriman: "Do not destroy my creation, O true believing Zarathushtra! Thou art the son of Pourushaspa. From mother's womb onwards thou art known(?) to me. Renounce the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. Thou shalt obtain a fortune, just as the ruler Vadhaghana²⁰⁴ obtained."

199 Ahriman.

200 For his defence. cf. above, Yasht 17, 19.

201 A question of Ahriman.

202 See below, Yasht 19, 88.

203 Lake Hamun in Seistān, from which will arise the future Saviour in the last millenium.

204 That is, Ahi Dahāka, the usurper of the Iranian throne.

- 7: Unto him replied Spitama Zarathushtra: "I will not renounce the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, (as long as) body, life, and consciousness will not be separated."²⁰⁵

THE TRUE AND THE FALSE PRIEST.

VENDĪDĀD 18.

- 1: "For there are diverse sorts of men," thus spake Ahura Mazda, "O true believing Zarathushtra. One puts on the mouth kerchief²⁰⁶ (Penom) without being girded with the religion²⁰⁷; he is wrongly called a priest. Do not call him a priest", so spake Ahura Mazda, "O true believing Zarathushtra!"
- 2: "Another carries the fly-clapper,²⁰⁸ without being girded with the religion; he is wrongly called a priest. Do not call him a priest," so spake Ahura Mazda, "O true believing Zarathushtra!"
- 3: "Another carries the (twig of a) tree,²⁰⁹ without being girded with the religion; he is wrongly called a priest. Do not call him a priest," so spake Ahura Mazda, "O true believing Zarathushtra!"
- 4: "A villain carries the scourge,²¹⁰ without being girded with the religion; he is wrongly called a priest. Do not call him a priest," so spake Ahura Mazda, "O true believing Zarathushtra!"
- 5: "He who sleeps throughout the whole night, without

²⁰⁵ That is, till death.

²⁰⁶ The mouth-kerchief or the veil which the priest puts on on the mouth when he approached the fire.

²⁰⁷ The holy cord (girdle, now *kusti*), which is for the Parsi the inseparable symbol of his religion, is the basis of the metaphor.

²⁰⁸ With which were killed the noxious insects according to the commandments of the Avesta, cf. Herodotus 1, 140.

²⁰⁹ See note 139.

²¹⁰ With which the church punishments were inflicted.

performing the Yasna or reciting (the Gāthās), without memorizing or officiating, without learning or teaching, in order to conquer him who strives to destroy the (eternal) life,²¹¹ he is wrongly called a priest. Do not call him a priest," so spake Ahura Mazda, "O true believing Zarathushtra !"

- 6: "Him alone thou shalt call a priest," so spake Ahura Mazda, "O true believing Zarathushtra, who throughout the whole night inquires from the Wisdom relating to the true faith,²¹² which saves one from the narrowness and widens the bridge of judgment,²¹³ which gives good conscience, which leads one to the (eternal) life, to (the reward of) Asha and to the best (place) in paradise."

— — —
THE HERETICS.

VENDĪDĀD 5.

- 35: If (the dead one) be a wicked, two-legged unbeliever, likewise a not true believing false teacher, how many of the creatures of the Holy Spirit does he pollute directly, how many indirectly (through his death) ?
- 36: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: As little as a quite dried up frog which is dead more than a year. For living, O Spitama Zarathushtra, does the wicked, two-legged unbeliever, likewise the not true believing false teacher, pollute the creatures of the Holy Spirit directly and indirectly.
- 37: Living does he destroy water, living does he extin-

²¹¹ Ahriman. "Watch and pray that ye may not fall into temptation."

²¹² That is, studies the holy scripture.

²¹³ "This bridge (which the souls must cross after death) becomes for the righteous as wide as the length of nine spears, and for the wicked as narrow as the edge of a razor," Dādistān-i Dinik 21, 5.

guish fire, living does he drive away the cow captive, living does he strike the true believing man a stroke that takes away consciousness and destroys life, not so when he is dead.

- 38: For living, O Spitama Zarathushtra, does the wicked two-legged unbeliever, likewise the not true believing false teacher, deprive the true believing man of his profusion of food, clothing, wood, mats, iron, not so when he is dead.

VENDĪDĀD 19.

- 26: Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: "O omniscient Ahura Mazda! should I urge the true believing man, should I urge the true believing woman, that they should spoil the pleasure of the unbelieving Dev-worshippers in the short life of men, in the earth created by Ahura, in the running water, in the harvest of corn, and in their other property?" Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: "Thou shouldst urge, O true believing Zarathushtra!"

Cf. Yasht 10, 2.

LAW

LAW OF PURIFICATION OF THE MAZDA RELIGION.

VENDĪDĀD 5.

- 15: Thou, Ahura Mazda, dischargest the water from the sea Vourukasha²¹⁴ and at the same time the wind and the clouds.
- 16: Thou, Ahura Mazda, wilt carry it to a dead one, Thou wilt carry it to a tower for the corpse, Thou wilt carry it to refuse, Thou wilt cause a bone to swim away with it, Thou wilt cause it (then) to flow away in nothing-

²¹⁴ See note 127.

ness,²¹⁵ wilt Thou then cause them all together to flow into the sea Pūtika?²¹⁶

17-18: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: So it is indeed, O Zarathushtra, as thou, O righteous one, sayest. I discharge the water etc.

19: They (waters) remain boiling in the sea. Being purified the waters flow away from the sea Pūtika to the sea Vourukasha, to the tree Hvāpī.²¹⁷ There grow all my plants of all kinds, by hundreds and thousands and myriad times myriads.

20: Upon all these do I, Ahura Mazda, cause it to rain, as food for the true believing man and as fodder for the useful cattle.

21: This is still better, this is finer than thou righteous one sayest. With this word Ahura Mazda satisfied true believing Zarathushtra. "Purity after birth is the best for men. This is Purity, O Zarathushtra, namely the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, for him who keeps his conscience pure through good thoughts and good words and good deeds."

22: "Creator! How much higher, better, finer is this anti-Dev, Zarathushtrian Law than [lit. above] the other doctrines in greatness, goodness, and fineness?"

23: Thereupon answered Ahura Mazda: "Just so indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra, stands this anti-Dev, Zarathushtrian Law above the other doctrines in greatness, goodness, and fineness, as the sea Vourukasha above the other waters.

24: Just so indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra, stands the anti-Dev, Zarathushtrian Law above the other doctrines in

²¹⁵ That is, disappear during the dry season.

²¹⁶ The great tank for purification.

²¹⁷ The original plant which contains the seed of all the plants.

greatness etc., as a great water overflows small waters. Just so indeed stands this anti-Dev, Zarathushtrian etc., as a great tree overshadows small trees.

- 25: "Just so indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra, stands this anti-Dev, Zarathushtrian Law, above the other doctrines in greatness, goodness, and fineness, as the (heaven) reaches this earth and compasses it around."

GOOD DEEDS. BLESSINGS OF AGRICULTURE.

VENDĪDĀD 3.

- 23: "Creator! Who pleases fourthly this earth with the greatest pleasure?" Thereupon answered Ahura Mazda: "When indeed one cultivates most corn and pastures and fruit-bearing plants, or when one waters the dry land on it, or makes dry the water on it.
- 24: "For this earth is not happy, which has long lain uncultivated, which should have been tilled by a cultivator, which thereby desires a good deed from the neighbour. Even so the beautiful wife who long moves about childless and therefore desires a good deed from her husband.
- 25: "He who cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra, with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, he brings to it a present just as the beloved husband brings a son or a present to the beloved wife, lying on a covered bed.
- 26: "He who cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra, with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, then speaks this earth: 'O man, thou, who cultivatest me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left,
- 27: 'certainly will I reward here the countries, certainly

will I move here pregnant; all fruits shall they garner in, of corn more than one can carry.'

28: "He who does not cultivate this earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra, with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, then speaks this earth: 'O man, thou, who dost not cultivate me, etc.

29: 'Certainly dost thou stand here leaning on the door of another, and among those who beg for food, certainly the dripping eatables are carried away before thy mouth, they are brought to those who have profusion of good (deeds)'. "

31: Whoso cultivates corn, he cultivates the Law, he furthers furthest the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, he strenghtens this religion of the Mazda-worshippers with a hundred pillars,²¹⁸ with a thousand props,²¹⁸ with ten thousand prayers.

32: When there is corn, then the Devs sweat (for fear); when there are grains, then the Devs wet²¹⁹ themselves, when there is flour, then the Devs howl (?), when there is dough, then the Devs fart.....

33: Therefore one shall then repeat the maxim: "None of the hungry has strength for vigorous righteousness, nor for vigorous cattle-breeding, nor for vigorous begetting of sons. For from bread does the whole corporeal world live, without bread it must die."

USEFUL ANIMALS.

A. THE DOG.

VENDĪDĀD 13.

8: Whoso kills one of these dogs, shepherd-dogs, house-dogs, blood-hounds, and trained dogs, his own soul

²¹⁸ These words become clear through Yasht 6, 3. .

²¹⁹ Probably [it belongs] to Sanskrit *tus*, *toś*;

departs from this to the other life with greater lamentation and with greater fear than a wolf can cause one to fear who loses²²⁰ his way²²⁰ in a thick forest.

9: No other soul will help his soul at [the time of] dying in its lamentation and fear for the (future) life. Nor do the two dogs, the bridge-guards, help it at [the time of] dying in its lamentation and fear for the (future) life.

49: When for me two of these come to a house, viz. the shepherd-dog and the house-dog, then one should not stop them. For the house does not remain fixed for me in its structure on the earth created by Ahura, if there were not for me the shepherd-dog and the house-dog.

50: O Creator! When a dog being worthless and incapable of begetting dies, where does its consciousness go?

51: Thereupon answered Ahura Mazda: In the springs of water passes it off, O Spitama Zarathushtra. There from them become two water-otters. From a thousand dogs of female sex and from a thousand dogs of male sex becomes one (otter) pair, a female and a male. Whoso kills an otter, he causes a 'drought without pastures.

52: From that time onwards from this place and country, O Spitama Zarathushtra, go away refreshment and fat, go away health and healing, go away prosperity and increase and growth, goes away the harvest of corn and of pastures.

53: O Creator! When will refreshment and fat etc. come back for us to this place and country?

54: Thereupon answered Ahura Mazda: O Spitama Zarathushtra, there will not come back to this place and country refreshment and fat etc.

- 55: Until the killer of the otter is here completely killed, or for the holy soul of this otter prayers are recited for three days and three nights with blazing fire and bundled Barsman and offered up Haoma.
- 56: After this time will come back to this place and country refreshment and fat etc.

B. COCK.

VENDĪDĀD 18.

- 13: Ask Me again, O righteous one, Me, the Creator, the Holiest and the Wisest, Who best replies the question. Then thou mayest be better, then thou mayest be holier, if thou wilt ask me again.
- 14: Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda : O Ahura Mazda, Holiest Spirit, Creator of the corporeal beings, of the true faith ! Who is the messenger of Sraosha who is devoted to Asha, brave, with a daring club, who is the incarnation of the holy word and devoted to the Lord ?
- 15: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda : The bird, which is called *Parōdarsh (cock), O Spitama Zarathushtra, which the mocking people name Kahrkatās (cock-a-doodle-doo). And this bird lifts up its voice at [the time of] the rising aurora :
- 16: “Get up, ye men, confess the best law, renounce the Devs !²²¹ That Būshyāsta with long paws comes upon you. She lulls to sleep the whole corporeal world just at the rising of the lights (saying):²²² ‘Sleep long, O man, thy time is not yet passed off.’

221 This sentence (as well as Yasht 13, 89) is imitated after the first sentence of the old confession of faith ; cf. Yasna 12, 1.

222 The following words are spoken by Būshyāsta, the demoness of sleepiness. *

- 17: "Do²²³ not sleep away the three best things, well thought thought, well spoken word, well done deed ; sleep away the three worst things, ill-thought thought, ill-spoken word, ill-done deed !"
- 18: And for the first third of the night requests My, of Ahura Mazda, Fire the master of the house :
- 19: "Help, [help]! Get up, O master of the house ! Put on the clothes, wash the hands, bring fuel, set it for me, and kindle me again with pure fuel with washed hands ! It seems to me as if Azi (the demon of greed) created by Devs would tear off my soul from its thread of life !"
- 20: And for the second third of the night requests My, of Ahura Mazda, Fire the cattle-breeding farmer :
- 21: "Help, [help]! Get up, O cattle-breeding farmer ! Put on the clothes, wash the hands, bring fuel, set it for me, and kindle me again with pure fuel with washed hands ! It seems to me as if Azi created by Devs would tear off my soul from its thread of life." .
- 22: And for the third third of the night requests My, of Ahura Mazda, Fire Sraosha devoted to Asha : "Help, [help]! O beautiful Sraosha devoted to Asha ! Then²²⁴ somebody in the corporeal world sets for me pure fuel with washed hands. It seems to me as if Azi created by Devs would tear off my soul from its thread of life."
- 23: Thereupon Sraosha devoted to Asha wakes up that bird Parōdarsh with name, O Spitama Zarathushtra, which the mocking people call Kahrkatās. And this bird lifts up its voice at [the time of] the rising aurora :
- 24: "Get up, ye men, confess the best law, renounce ..

223 This is the continuation of the speech of the cock, not of Būshyāsta.

224 That is, when Sraosha himself interposes.

the Devs! That Būshyāsta with long paws comes upon you. She lulls to sleep the whole corporeal world just at the rising of the lights (saying): 'Sleep long, O man, thy time is not yet passed off.'

- 25: "Do not sleep away the three best things, well thought thought, well spoken word, well done deed; sleep away the three worst things, ill-thought thought, ill-spoken word, ill-done deed!"
- 26: Then a friend will be exhorted by his friend while lying on the cushion: "Get up, it (the cock) drives me out. Whoever of us two brings first pure fuel with washed hands to the fire of Ahura Mazda, to him wishes fire being pleased, not offended, a contented conscience :²²⁵
- 27: 'May a herd of cows and a great number of sons be allotted to thee, may an active mind and an active conscience be allotted to thee! Live thy life with glad conscience all the nights that thou wilt live.' This is the blessing of Fire for him who brings unto it fuel, dry, stored up in the light of heaven, purified with the desire for good deed."
- 28: And whoever presents for me this bird, O Spitama Zarathushtra, a pair, a male and a female, to a pious man in order to do a good deed, he may believe he has presented a house with a hundred pillars, a thousand beams, ten thousand curtains (?), and ten thousand windows.
- 29: And whoever gives away for me flesh in the size of the body of this bird Parōdarsh,²²⁶ him shall I, Ahura

²²⁵ See above, Yasna 62.

²²⁶ If he has no cock to be given away, then instead of it he should make a gift of a piece of flesh in the size of the cock.

Mazda, never ask a second word,²²⁷ (but say): "Thou mayest proceed further into paradise."

FIVE CAPITAL SINS.

VENDĪDĀD 15.

- 1: How many of such done sins there are, which mankind does, and when they are committed, without being compensated and atoned for, they become thereby sinners and therefore damned?
- 2: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: Five, O true believing Zarathushtra. The first of these sins which the mortals commit is, when one defames a true believing man before a person of different faith or a person devoted to another doctrine, and commits this knowingly and with his own purpose, then they become thereby sinners and therefore damned.
- 3: The second of these sins which the mortals commit is, when one gives unbroken bones or hot food to a dog, be it to a shepherd-dog or a house-dog,
- 4: and if the bones hurt [it] in the teeth or wound [it] in the throat, and if the hot food burns its snout or tongue, and it may be hurt thereby—if it is really hurt thereby, then they become thereby sinners and therefore damned.
- 5: The third of these sins which the mortals commit is, when one beats a pregnant bitch or drives away or hoots at or (through the clapping of hands) frightens [her],
- 6: and if the bitch falls into a hole or a well or a snare or a brook or a torrent of water, and she may be hurt

²²⁷ In the judgment on the souls at the Bridge of Judges. All sins are pardoned unto him owing to this gift.

thereby—if she is really hurt thereby, then they become thereby sinners and therefore damned.

7: The fourth of these sins which the mortals commit is, when one has intercourse with a woman who has her signs, menstruation, and bleeding, then they become thereby sinners and therefore damned.

8: The fifth of these sins which the mortals commit is, when one has intercourse before the time with a pregnant woman who has milk or has no milk, and she may be hurt thereby—when she is really hurt thereby, then they become thereby sinners and damned.

DEATH AND THE OTHER LIFE.

DISPOSAL OF CORPSES.²²⁸

VENDĪDĀD 6.

44: O Creator! Whither shall we carry the body of dead persons, O Ahura Mazda, where lay [it] ?

45: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: On the highest spots, O Spitama Zarathushtra, so that corpse-devouring dogs or corpse-devouring birds perceive it most quickly.

46: There shall the Mazda-worshippers fasten the dead by his feet and hair with iron or stone or cane, so that the corpse-devouring dogs or the corpse-devouring birds do not carry any of his bones to waters or plants.

47: O Creator! If they do not fasten it and then the corpse-devouring dogs or the corpse-devouring birds carry any of his bones to waters and plants, what is the punishment for it ?

48: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: One shall give for it to the damned person two hundred stripes with the horse-whip, two hundred with the scourge.

²²⁸ Cf. Herodotus 1, 140.

49: O Creator! Whither shall we carry the bones²²⁹ of dead persons, O Ahura Mazda, where lay them?

50: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: One shall then make for them a raised grave, higher than a dog, higher than a fox, higher than a wolf [can] reach, in which it does not rain, and higher than the rain water [can] rise.

51: If the Mazda-worshippers can, on stone or mortar or on..... If the Mazda-worshippers cannot, then one shall lay (them)²³⁰ on their own covering and their own cushion, in the open air, in sight of the sun, on the earth.

THE DAKHMAS (TOWERS FOR CORPSES).

VENDĪDĀD 7.

45: O Creator! How much time do the dead persons, which were laid down together²³¹ on the earth, in the open air, in sight of the sun, require till they become earth?

46: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: The length of a year, O true believing Zarathushtra, the dead persons, which were laid down together on the earth, in the open air in sight of the sun, require till they become earth.

47: O Creator! How much time do the dead persons, which are buried together in the earth, require till they become earth?

48: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: After fifty years, O Spitama Zarathushtra, the dead persons, which are buried together in the earth, become earth.

229 For burial, when the flesh is gnawed off by dogs and birds.

230 The bones.

231 In cemeteries etc.

- 49: O Creator! How much time do the dead persons, which were laid down together on a Dakhma, require till they become earth?
- 50: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: Not until, O Spitama Zarathushtra, this (Dakhma is) covered with dust.²³² Thou shalt, O Spitama Zarathushtra, exhort every one in the corporeal world to pull down these Dakhmas.
- 51: And whoso pulls down for me out of these Dakhmas²³³ even as much the height as his body has, he has atoned for his thoughts, atoned for his words, atoned for his deeds; he has expiated his thoughts, expiated his words, expiated his deeds.
- 52: For no charge appears to the two Spirits²³⁴ against this man.²³⁵ (I shall speak:) "Proceed further into Paradise." The stars, moon and sun will show him respect, and I Myself, the Creator Ahura Mazda, shall show him respect: "Hail to thee here, O man, who passedst out of the distressful life into the non-distressful life!"
- 53: O Creator! Where is the Dev, where is the abode of the Dev-worshipper, where is the meeting, the assembly of the Devs, where do the Devs meet together, in fifty and hundred, in hundred and thousand, in thousand and ten thousand, in ten thousand and innumerable?
- 54: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: On these Dakhmas, O Spitama Zarathushtra, which are built on the earth with brick-work, upon which are laid dead persons. There is the Dev, there is the Dev-worshipper, there is the meeting of the Devs, there is the assembly of the Devs,

²³² Falls into ruins.

²³³ Which are no longer in use.

²³⁴ Ormazd and Ahriman or the two judges Rashnu and Mithra (?).

²³⁵ In the judgment on the souls at the Bridge.

there the Devs meet together, in fifty and hundred, etc.

55: Just so indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra, do the Devs devour²³⁶ on these Dakhmas and digest there, as in the corporeal world ye mortals cook meals and eat cooked meat.....

56: For that is the refuge of the Devs as long as the smell (of the corpses) stick thereon.

THE SOUL AFTER DEATH.

HĀDŌKHT NASK 2.

1: Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, Holiest Spirit, Creator of the corporeal beings, of the true faith! When a true believer dies, where does his soul remain during this night?

2: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: Close by his head sits it quiet, reciting the Gāthā Ushtavaiti²³⁷ and desiring happiness for itself.....During this night the soul finds as much joy as in the whole time of life.

3: Where does his soul remain during the second night?

4: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: In the neighbourhood etc.

5: Where does his soul remain during the third night?

6: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda: In the neighbourhood etc.

7: At the end of the third night when it begins to dawn, the soul of the true believing man thinks to be among trees, and it thinks to distinguish fragrances. A wind seems to blow to it from the southern direction, from the southern directions, a fragrant one, more fragrant than other winds.

236 Namely the corpses.

237 Yasna 43.

- 8: And the soul of the true believing man thinks to inhale this wind with the nose: "Where does this wind blow from, the most fragrant that I have ever smelled with the nose?"
- 9: At the approach of this wind appears unto him his own religious conscience in the form of a beautiful maiden, noble, with white arms, strong, with a beautiful face, gay, high-bosomed, of a noble body, high-born from a rich family, fifteen years old in appearance, of so much beauty in the body as the most beautiful of the creatures.
- 10: And the soul of the true believing man addresses her asking: "What sort of a maiden art thou, whom I have seen as the most beautiful of all maidens in the body?"
- 11: Thereupon answers his religious conscience: "I am indeed, O youth of good thought, good word, good deed, good conscience, thy own personal conscience." "And who has loved thee in this greatness, goodness, beauty, fragrance, and victorious, temptations surmounting strength, as thou appearest to me?"
- 12: "Thou hast loved me, O youth of good thought, good word, good deed, good conscience, in this greatness, goodness, beauty, fragrance, and victorious, temptations surmounting strength, as I appear unto thee.
- 13: "When thou sawest another setting fire and ... and felling trees, then thou didst sit quiet, reciting the Gāthās, adoring the good Waters and Fire of Ahura Mazda, and pleasing the true believing man coming from near and far.
- 14: "And since I was beloved thou hast made me more beloved, since I was beautiful thou hast made me more beautiful, since I sat on a prominent place thou hast placed me on the most prominent place." (Ahura

speaks:) "Here are thy good thoughts, here thy good words, here thy good deeds.²³⁸ And afterwards the people will worship²³⁹ Me, Me Ahura Mazda, long worshipped, requested for advice."

- 15: The soul of the true believing man advances the first step and puts its foot on the Good Thought;²⁴⁰ the soul of the true believing man advances the second step and puts its foot on the Good Word; the soul of the true believing man advances the third step and puts its foot on the Good Deed; the soul of the true believing man advances the fourth step and puts its foot into the Lights without a beginning.²⁴¹
- 16: And a previously deceased true believer addresses him asking: "How didst thou die, O true believer; how didst thou depart, O true believer, from the abodes rich in cattle, from the . . . , from the corporeal life to the spiritual life, from the distressful life to the non-distressful life? Didst thou fare well long?"
- 17: Thereupon speaks Ahura Mazda: "Do not ask him, whom ['denn' = because is a misprint for 'den'] thou askest, after the dreadful, wretched parting-way he has come along after the separation of body and consciousness.
- 18: "Bring him food of spring-butter;²⁴² that is the food after death for a youth with good thoughts, good words, good deeds, good conscience; it is the food after death for a woman who has more good thoughts,²⁴³ more

238 Ahura shows him with these words his good deeds etc., which the pious has stored up in the entrance-hall of paradise.

239 When they have happily reached paradise.

240 That is, in the first entrance-hall or the first stage of paradise.

241 That is, paradise.

242 Best butter.

243 Than evil in the heavenly account.

good words, more good deeds, who is chaste, obedient to the Lord, a true believer! ”

19: Zarathushtra asked : When an unbeliever dies, where does his soul remain during this night ?

20: Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda : Near his skull wanders it, O true believing Zarathushtra, reciting the Gāthā piece beginning with *kām nemē*.²⁴⁴ During this night the soul finds as much sorrow as in the whole time of life

25: At the end of the third night, O true believing Zarathushtra, when it begins to dawn, the soul of the unbelieving man thinks to be in a desert, and it thinks to distinguish stench. A wind seems to blow to it from the northern direction, from the northern directions, stinky, more stinky than other winds.

26: And the soul of the unbelieving man thinks to inhale this wind with the nose : “ Where does this wind blow from, the most stinky that I have ever smelled with the nose ? ”²⁴⁵

33: The soul of the unbelieving man advances the fourth step and puts its foot into the Darkness without a beginning.²⁴⁶

34: And a previously dead unbeliever addresses him asking : “ How didst thou unbeliever depart from the abodes rich in cattle, from the, from the corporeal life to the spiritual life, from the distressful life to the non-distressful²⁴⁷ life ? Didst thou fare ill long ? ”

35: (Ahriman speaks :) “ Do not ask him, whom thou askest, after the dreadful, wretched parting-way he has

244 Yasna 46, 1.

245 The piece in question is wanting in the Mss.

246 Hell. .

247 In this case a pure mechanical phrase,

come along after the separation of body and consciousness.

- 36: Bring him food of poison and poisonous smell; that is the food after death for a youth with evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds, evil conscience; that is the food after death for a woman who has more evil thoughts, more evil words, more evil deeds, who is unchaste, disobedient to the Lord, an unbeliever!

VENDĪDĀD 19.

- 27: O Creator! Where are the deeds,²⁴⁸ whither do the deeds go, where do the deeds remain, where are the deeds repaid, which the man should perform in the corporeal life for (the bliss) of his soul?
- 28: And Ahura Mazda spake: After the man has died, after the time of the man has passed away, the evil wicked Devs cut off his thread of life.²⁴⁹ When in the third night it dawns and the bright aurora rises and Mithra with the beautiful weapons ascends the mountains, upon which the true bliss lives, and the splendid sun rises,
- 29: then the Dev called Vizaresha, O Spitama Zarathushtra, leads away bound the soul of the unbelieving Dev-worshippers, of the short-lived (?) people. It goes along the path made in primitive time, which is as well for the unbeliever as for the true believer, to the bridge of the judges, made by Mazda, and they demand from consciousness and soul an account over the life and doing of the beings in the corporeal world.

²⁴⁸ *dāthra* are deeds in ethical sense, inasmuch as they have an ethical value or non-value, therefore roughly the idea of the Indian *karman*.

²⁴⁹ On which the soul still hangs during the first three days after death.

- 30: The beautiful, (well-)formed, brave (maiden)²⁵⁰ with beautiful face comes with a dog,²⁵¹ adorned with a breast-cloth and a crown, with sharp intelligence and with grace. (She drags the wicked soul of the unbelievers into darkness).²⁵² She conducts the souls of the true believers across the high Harā, she holds them on the bridge of the judge,²⁵³ on the dam of the heavenly holy ones.
- 31: Vohu Mano gets up from his golden seat. Vohu Mano speaks: "How didst thou come here, O thou true believer, from the distressful life to the non-distressful life?"
- 32: Being found good²⁵⁴ the souls of the true believers proceed to the golden thrones of Ahura Mazda and of the Immortal Holy Ones, to paradise, to the abode of Ahura Mazda, to the abode of the Immortal Holy Ones, to the abode of the other true believers.
- 33: The true believer is found pure after death. The unbelieving, wicked Devs fear his smell as a sheep, which gets scent of a wolf, fears the wolf.

THE LAST THINGS.

YASHT 19.

- 88-89: We adore the mighty, royal Glory which will pass over on the "Victorious" among the future saviours and on the other friends, so that he may perfect the world, not growing old nor dying, not decaying nor rotting, ever living, ever prospering, free; when the dead will rise again, and unto the (still) living ones will be allotted

250 The religious conscience, see above.

251 With which she drives away the demons.

252 The sentence is probably interpolated.

253 So that they do not fall down into the abyss of hell.

254 In the court of justice, cf. Yasna 31, 3; 51, 9. Or: glad,

immortality, and the world does that which is perfect according to his will.

- 90: The living beings who have the praise²⁵⁵ of the true-faith become immortal. Lie will disappear again there, from where it came to destroy the true believer, him and his race and his followers. The wicked one will be destroyed, and the wicked chief (Ahriman) will be destroyed.
- 92: When Asvatereta²⁵⁶ will come out from the lake Kāsava, [he] the helper of Ahura Mazda, the son of Vispataurvari, brandishing the victorious weapon which brave Thraetaona²⁵⁷ bore when the Dragon Dahāka was slain;
- 93: which the Turanian Frarasyan bore when unbelieving Zainigāu was slain; which King Haosravan bore when the Turanian Frarasyan was slain; which King Vishtāspa bore when he wanted to punish the enemies of the true faith. Herewith will he then drive Druj away from the creatures of the true faith.
- 94: He will see with the eyes of wisdom, he will look at all creatures, He will look at the whole corporeal world with the eyes of blessing, and his gaze will make the whole corporeal living world immortal.
- 95: The friends of this victorious Asvatereta appear, [they] who think good, speak good, do good, have a good conscience, and never speak untruth with their tongues. Before them will flee away Aeshma the blind, with the bloody club. Asha (Truth) will overpower the wicked Druj (Lie) which comes from evil seed, from darkness.
- 96: Akem Mano (Evil Mind) will be overpowered, Vohu

255 Or: 'all of Asha,' if *sañuhaitīś* is Sanskrit *śāśvatīś*.

256 The name of the expected saviour.

257 See above, Yasna 9, 7 f.

Mano (Good Mind) overpowers it. Evil spoken word will be overpowered, true spoken word overpowers it. Haurvatāt²⁵⁸ and Ameretāt²⁵⁹ both will overpower hunger and thirst, Haurvatāt and Ameretāt will overpower evil hunger and thirst. The evil-doer Ahriman will flee away powerless.²⁶⁰

RESURRECTION.

FRAGMENT.

(The prayer) *Airyaman ishya*²⁶¹ do I mention to thee, O righteous Spitama, as the highest among all prayers, for this I have made superior to all [other] prayers, namely the *Airyaman ishya*. The future saviours are to repeat it. Through the repetition thereof, O Spitama, I, Ahura Mazda, shall have power over my creatures, and Ahriman with his evil religion will not have power over his creatures, O Spitama Zarathushtra. Ahriman will conceal himself in the earth, the Devs will conceal themselves in the earth. The dead will rise again in their lifeless bodies, the corporeal life will continue.

(A detailed description of the last judgment and of the renovation of the world is given only in the Pehlevi books, especially in the Bundahish coming from the ninth century but drawing its contents from old, lost sources.)

BUNDAHISH 30.

Of the nature of the resurrection of the dead and of future life it is said in the Holy Scripture:.....Ten years before the saviour (Sōshyans) appears, the people live without food and yet die not (3). After the advent

²⁵⁸ Perfection.

²⁵⁹ Immortality.

²⁶⁰ The text of the last piece is uncertain and incomplete.*

²⁶¹ Yasna 54.

of Sishyans they prepare the resurrection of the dead, just as it is said that Zarathushtra asked Ormazd: "From what can the body be restored again, which the wind has carried or the water has drifted, and how will the resurrection take place?" (4). Ormazd answered: "When I created the sky, without pillars, with spiritual durability, widely delimited, shining, of steel;²⁶² when through Me the earth exists, which bears the corporeal life, and there is no other that maintains the creation; when through Me the sun, moon, and stars move in the firmament with shining bodies; when by Me corn is so created that sown in the earth it grows afterwards and multiplies itself; when I created various colours in plants; when I put fire in plants and other things without burning them; when through Me the child was created and formed in the womb and the special form of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears, and other things was produced; when I made legs for the water, so that it flows away; when I created the cloud which brings the water to the world and rains there where it wishes; when I created the air which goes from below upwards evidently through the power of the wind, just as it likes, without being grasped with the hands—then each one of them, when it was created by Me, was more difficult than to perform the resurrection, for in the resurrection it is a help to Me that they exist; but when they were formed, there was nothing from which it would have become (5). Note: if that which was not was then created, why is it not possible to produce again that which was? For at this time one will demand again bones from the spirit of earth, blood from water, hair from plants, life from fire, since they were adjudged to them at the creation²⁶³ (6).

262 cf. Yasht 13, 2.

263 After death.

First, the bones of Gāyōmard²⁶⁴ will rise up, then those of Mīshya²⁶⁵ and Mīshyoi,²⁶⁵ then those of the other people. In 57 years the Sōshyans²⁶⁶ will restore again all the dead. All men rise up, the righteous as well as the godless, every human creature will rise up there where his life passed away from him (7). Then, when the whole corporeal world receives their bodies and forms again, they assign them a single class²⁶⁷ (8).

Half of the light which is with the sun will irradiate Gāyōmard, and the other half the rest of mankind, so that they recognise souls and bodies: "This is my father, this is my mother, this is my brother, and this is my wife, and this is some one else of my near relatives" (9). Then the assembly of the Sadvāstarān (?) takes place, in which all men will be present at this time. In this assembly every one sees his good deeds and his evil deeds. Then in this assembly a godless person will become as conspicuous as a white sheep among black ones (10). In this assembly, if a righteous person was a friend of a godless one in the world, the godless one will complain to the righteous one: "When we were in the world, why didst thou not acquaint me with the good deeds which thou thyself didst practise?" If the righteous one has not informed him, then he must feel ashamed in the assembly (11).

Then they separate the righteous from the godless, then the righteous will be selected for paradise, and the godless they will throw back into hell (12). Three days

264 Name of the primordial man.

265 Name of the first human pair.

266 That is, the saviour and his assistants.

267 This means probably: every class distinction will then be removed.

and three nights they will bodily undergo punishment in hell, then (the godless one) will bodily look at bliss in paradise these three days (13). As it is said : on the day when the righteous person is separated from the godless, the tears come down on the feet of every person (14). When they then separate a father from the wife, a brother from the brother, and a friend from the friend, then every one receives the reward of his deeds, and they weep, the righteous one for the godless and the godless for himself. For it may happen that the father is righteous and the son godless ; it may happen that one brother is righteous and another godless (15). Those, for whose peculiar deeds it happens, such as Dahāk and Turanian Frāsīyāv and others of this sort, undergo as capital sinners a punishment such as other people do not undergo. They call it the punishment of the three nights (16).

Among the producers of the perfection those righteous persons, of whom it is written that they live (at that time), namely fifteen men and fifteen maidens, will come to the help of Sōshyans (17). When Gōschīhar²⁶⁸ in the sky falls to the earth from a moon-beam, then the earth will be in as great fear as a sheep when a wolf falls upon it (18). Then the fire and the metal of Shatvaīr²⁶⁹ in the mountains and hills melt and it remains like a stream on the earth (19). Then all people will step into the melted metal and become pure. When one is righteous, then it seems to him just so as if he walks continually in warm milk ; but when he is godless, then it seems to him even so as if he walks continually in melted metal in the world (20).

Then all men come together in the highest joy,

268 Probably a meteor.

269 The archangel of metals.

father and son and brother and friend, and they ask one another: "Where hast thou been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul? Hast thou been a righteous or a godless person?" (21). First the soul sees the body and inquires of it with these words (22). All men become of one voice and administer loud praise to Ormazd and the archangels (23).

Ormazd completes His work at this time, and the creatures become so, that He need not make any effort for them; and for those, who restore again the dead, no effort is necessary (24). Sōshyans and his assistants make a sacrifice while restoring the dead again, slaughter the bull Hadhayōsh in the sacrifice. From the fat of this bull and from the white Hōm²⁷⁰ they prepare the elixir of life and give it to all men, and all men become immortal for ever and ever (25). And this is said: Whoever had the size of a man, they restore him then in the state of a forty years old man, Whoever died young, they restore him then in the state of a fifteen years old [youth]. And they give everyone his wife, and show him the children of his wife. They (the resurrected ones) act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children (26).

Then Sōshyans (and his assistants), by order of Ormazd, will give everyone his due reward according to his deeds. This is the condition of the righteous, of whom it is said: they will conduct them into paradise, in the Garōtmān of Ormazd, just as they deserve. He brings his body with him for all eternity and he will move always in purity (27). It is said: Whoever has brought no offering and ordered no Gētīkharid²⁷¹ and bestowed no dress as a pious gift, he is naked there.

²⁷⁰ Haoma.

²⁷¹ A mass continuing for eight days.

And he brings an offering to Ormazd, and the heavenly angels bring a dress to him (28).

Then Ormazd smites Ahriman, Vohūman²⁷², Akōman, Ashavahisht Indar, Shatvaīr Sāvar, Spendarmad Tarōmat, that is Nāonghas, Horvadat and Amerōdat, Tārev and Zārik, True speaking Lying, Srōsh Aeshm (29). Then there remain two evil Spirits, Ahriman and Āz.²⁷³ Ormazd will come into the world, He Himself as sacrificer and Srōsh as His assistant, and He holds the holy girdle in the hand and through his girdle prayer Ahriman and Āz will be helpless and powerless. And by the passage through which he had rushed into the sky, he runs back into darkness and gloom (of hell) (30). Gōchīhar burns the serpent²⁷⁴ in the melted metal, and the stench and pollution that were in hell are burnt in this metal, and it will become quite pure (31). And the hiding-place into which Ahriman fled He²⁷⁵ will put into the metal, and the land of hell He returns to the bliss of the world. The renovation takes place in the worlds according to his will, and the world becomes immortal for ever and ever (32). It is also said: The earth will be an inceless plain without slopes. Even the mountain, the summit of which supports the Bridge of the Judges, they press down, and it will no more exist (33).

272 The different archangels and arch-demons. See Yasht 19, 96

273 The demon of greed.

274 Probably Āz.

275 Ormazd.

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